

McCormick Missionaries and the Shaping of Korean Evangelical Presbyterianism, 1888-1939

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I declare that, I, Jaekeun Lee, have composed this thesis, that it is entirely my own work, and that it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to show that Korean Presbyterianism, which was transplanted to and shaped in Korea at the turn of the twentieth century, was an indigenized and intensified form of evangelical Christianity. The main argument is that McCormick missionaries were key figures in the process of the shaping of Korean Protestantism, being one of the typical groups in Korea who represented the American evangelical missionary movement.

McCormick missionaries combined the evangelical piety of the revival movements of the New School Presbyterians – Finney and Pierson - with the confessional Reformed doctrines of the Old School Presbyterians. They also transplanted Premillennialism as a dominant feature of American religious culture into Korea at the turn of the twentieth century.

Although McCormick Theological Seminary was not the most significant theological institution within the American Presbyterian Church, it was this school which has made the most important contribution to the formation of theology, piety, and practice. McCormick theology was an evangelical theology with a strongly pietist tendency and a moderate Calvinist doctrine. As evangelical Presbyterians, McCormick workers established the core features and direction of the Korean Presbyterian Church from 1888 until 1939 when the Pyongyang Seminary was closed down and the missionaries were asked to leave Korea by the Japanese imperial government.

Introduction

Historians have researched the Korean protestant Church's processes of growth, reasons for the explosive reception of Christianity by Korean people, major characteristics, differences from other Asian countries' churches, interaction with existing religious traditions and the social and political meanings of Christian expansion in Korea. These topics have mostly been focused on the times and events after the first introduction of Protestantism to Korea in 1885. Thorough study of the historical links between the theological and cultural background of the American transmitters and the actually applied form of Christian belief and practices in Korea have, however, been largely ignored by researchers. In the Presbyterian case, to take one Protestant strand, this appears to derive in part from an unquestioned and essentialised acceptance of Presbyterianism as a 'pure' system unaffected by national characteristics, by theological dispute, or by historical changes. As a result, the academic circle of Korean church history has not produced a comprehensive and broadly-consulted authorized work regarding the doctrinal and historical origin of Korean Protestantism that can be used as a textbook in theological schools and department of history in universities.

The suggestion that a church begun through migration and mission will be related to the theology and history of the sending country is hardly new. When researchers observe the many facets of American Protestant life, for example, they soon recognize that the most significant origin of American Protestantism is British and to a lesser extent German Protestantism. Looking just at the former, we can move from the Puritan ideal of the Christian nation, through the Presbyterian talent for theological systemization, the Methodist zeal for revivals, the Baptist idea of

democratic polity, to the eschatological vision of the Dispensationalist. America has been “the Promised Land” in which every marginal religion born in the British Isles found greater or lesser degrees of prosperity. American Protestants still analyse carefully both the British and the American heritage, not seeing the latter as having wiped out the relevance of the former.

Protestantism in Korea has also been shaped by the diverse sources of influences of Protestant transmitters from the USA, Britain, Canada and Australia. It can be said, however, that American power almost manipulated the missionary enterprise in Korea mission field. Considering almost every respect overall including numbers of missionary workers, financial support from their own countries, and political and diplomatic power in Korea in the turn of the twentieth century, the US represents a near-absolute force in the formation of the Protestant world in Korea.¹ This suggests that researcher on the origin, influence, and the developmental process of the early Korean Church history must study American Protestant missionaries themselves: who they were, what the background around them in their homeland was, what kind of faith led them to go to Korea, and what sort of Christianity they planted in Korea.

Defining the characteristic of American Protestant missionaries to Korea in the late nineteenth century is not an easy task because they have their own diverse denominational and individual backgrounds. Nonetheless, these missionaries to Korea born and brought up in the historical soil of the nineteenth century American

¹ From 1884 to 1945, all Protestant missionaries worked in Korea were total 1,529. Among them, missionaries from the US were 1,059 (69.3%), others were 470 (31.7%): 199 British (13.0%), 98 Canadian (6.4%), 85 Australian (5.6%) and 88 others (5.7%). Seung Tae Kim and Hye Jin Park, *Naehan Seongyosa Chongram, 1884-1984* [A Directory of Protestant Missionaries to Korea] (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History, 1994), 4

evangelical movement, which had been expressed in the series of the revival movements and missionary movements, had certain common features beyond the barriers among denominations. The historical background which helped them to become missionaries was the popular and democratized evangelical movement that changed American Protestantism to a new form of religion, different from the European version.

The emergence of the new democratic and populist Christian movements—later known as the nineteenth century “evangelicals”²— was an innovative event in American religious and social history. This new resurgent mass movement in the Republic era, part of the Second Great Awakening, secured its special success in the western frontiers. Major denominations in the eastern district including New England also underwent the new revival movement under the leadership of talented leaders such as Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney. Finally, the impact of the evangelical movement and its related missionary movements in the nineteenth century determined the characteristic of American Protestantism. American missionaries, who received this newly thriving evangelical religion as their inheritance, handed over it to the people in their mission fields with little doubt as to its relevance to Korea, for their views had been so strongly formed by, their early missionary enterprises and training.

Korean Protestantism has thus grown up from the seedbed sown by the conveyers of American Protestantism. Since Horace G. Underwood, an American

² Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 9. Hatch did not articulate this new religious phenomenon as evangelical movement, but as populist- or democratic movement. He seemed to intend to reveal more obviously the social features of this new trend through his terminology stressing the social uniqueness of these new movements.

Presbyterian missionary and Henry G. Appenzeller, an American Methodist missionary, arrived in Korea on January 1885, the Korean church has grown explosively over an unusually short period. However, the history of Protestantism in Korea is at most 120 years, which is perhaps not sufficiently long to enable the making of a mature and unique Protestant system. Thus, the influence of the initial transmitters of Korean Protestantism, and of a very specific brand of nineteenth century American Protestantism, dominated until most of them were expelled in 1939 by the Japanese imperial government and arguably until now.

Korean Protestantism has by and large had a more utilitarian, activist, pragmatic, populist and pietist ethos than other commonly seen historical forms of western Protestantism. Yet this is not, I shall argue, merely if at all, a result of it being Korean, so much as it deriving from the indigenous contextualised type of evangelical Christianity which developed in the North Atlantic English-speaking countries, especially in America. My primary focus in this research on one origin of the Korean Presbyterian Church will be on the interactions between American Presbyterian missionaries, especially those who graduated from McCormick Seminary who conducted missionary work in Korea and Korean People between 1888 and 1939. Korean Presbyterianism, which was planted in Korea by McCormick Presbyterian missionaries, is a form of American evangelical Protestantism, made by the combination of the doctrinal conservativeness of the confessionalist tradition of the Old School with their pietist commitment, and the revivalist inclination of the New School. This combination, with all its tensions, lasted throughout the nineteenth century.

The reason I chose American missionaries from McCormick Seminary as my research subject matter is simple and clear. It is because an overall and comprehensive research which investigates and analyzes McCormick missionaries as a homogeneous group-theologically and culturally- has not appeared in the circle of Korean church history. Setting aside individual missionary's character and inclinations, I assume that McCormick missionaries as a group who worked in Korea at the turn of the twentieth century performed their missionary work based on several common theological, practical, cultural and regional assumptions which they all shared.

My research is basically to trace back the history of theology. This history includes complex interconnection of thought, conduct, society and culture among concerned figures and events at specific times and places. First of all, I consulted wide range of documents containing letters, journals, reports, diaries and lectures written and conducted by McCormick missionaries. Through this consultation process, I have found the diverse roots and influences, through which McCormick missionaries could form their structures of thinking and attitudes towards action.

For the theologically valid and historically relevant research of McCormick Missionaries and their inherited theological and practical influences, I have also been guided by major and authoritative works on the history of American Evangelicalism and revival and missionary movements since the late eighteenth century. In many aspects and points, I have been led by the interpretative perspectives of prominent western historians of evangelicalism such as George Marsden, Mark Noll, Nathan Hatch, David Bebbington and John Wolffe, and of leading Korean historians such as Dae Young Ryu and Yong Kyu Park. They have led the explosion of academically

strict arguments on the history of evangelicalism among the English-speaking and Korean scholarly world. Currently, their notions and arguments of evangelical movements in the nineteenth- and twentieth century North Atlantic world and Korea are most quoted in academic papers related to the movements. As above two Korean scholars did, I placed the history of the Korean Presbyterian Church in the extended history of world evangelical movement, promoted by and brought up from the nineteenth century Protestant missionary movements.

McCormick Presbyterian missionaries, as an American evangelical group, were mostly influenced by popular revival and evangelistic enthusiasm in their homeland in the late nineteenth century. This impulse belonged to their New School pietist strand of the Presbyterian heritage. Simultaneously, however, they transplanted their understanding of the traditional Presbyterian doctrines, which had been expressed in the confessionalist tradition of the Old School, to Korean believers in the context of worldwide evangelical missionary movement. Finally, McCormick alumni blazed the trail of the future Korean evangelical Presbyterianism through their attempts to convey their internalized Presbyterian values. In other words, their legacy for the future Korean Presbyterians was a moderate evangelical Presbyterianism which combined New School pietist-revivalist ethos with Old School confessionalist inclination.

I. The Second Great Awakening and the New Evangelical Ethos: New School Presbyterianism

1. The Second Great Awakening: The Birth of Evangelical Presbyterianism in America

This chapter demonstrates the developmental process of American Protestantism, especially American Presbyterianism, to an overall Arminianized evangelical type of Christianity throughout the nineteenth century. It is a meaningful start to prove the strong evangelical characteristic of the Korean Presbyterian Church as one case related to or derived from American Presbyterian missionary history. The most significant contribution of the Second Great Awakening to the American Presbyterian Church was that this revival movement gave birth to a New School Presbyterian strand. New School Presbyterianism existed officially just thirty-one years between 1838 and 1869. Its impact, however, on the denomination and to its related movements in domestic- and international stage continued to last much longer and, particularly outside America, it has lasted even until now. Its most concrete example was the Korean Presbyterian Church, which was established under the enormous influence of the American Presbyterian missionaries, especially McCormick Alumni.

Historians who have studied the Second Great Awakening in America generally agree that the movement was the most influential revival movement in the history of the United States.³ The impact of the Second Great Awakening on later American

³ It is not easy to estimate whether this movement can be defined as a single event in American religious and social history due to its complicatedly intertwined events and unclear period of continuation. A good description regarding the Second Great Awakening appears in a sentence of

religion and society was more enormous than that of the first Great Awakening and, as outlined in the introduction, it had a direct effect on the missionary theology and practices of the McCormick missionaries in their shaping of the Korean Presbyterian Church. The comparison between the two revivals allows us to see more epochal and distinctive facets of developments in the Second Great Awakening.⁴

Each revival movement commonly focused their main concern on salvation, that is, what an individual should do to be saved. Both two cases tried to communicate with their fellow revivalists in Britain and the European continent in order to promote the expansion of revivals. For instances, Jonathan Edwards at the First Great Awakening depended on George Whitefield who led his revival enterprise in Britain and then expanded his impact on North America. In the period of the Second Great Awakening, many Methodist itinerants including Francis Asbury were English, and accordingly, they continued their communication with their co-labourers in Britain who played leading parts in the intermittent revivals there.

Significant discontinuities between them were marked, however. While, in the First Great Awakening, the figures from the older traditional denominations such as Jonathan Edwards (Congregationalist), George Whitefield (Anglican) and Gilbert Tennant (Presbyterian) took the lead in revival movements, the Second Great Awakening was dominated by leaders of newly organized, so called ‘democratized’⁵

John Wolffe’s recent book of a history of evangelicalism: “Second Great Awakening, the movement of revival that gathered momentum in the 1790s and early 1800s, and continued to reverberate until the 1840s.” John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2007), 43.

⁴ Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 169f.

⁵ Hatch, 9. Hatch exemplified five insurgent movements early in the nineteenth century: the Christians, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Black churches, and the Mormons. These five groups, led

denominations: Methodists, Baptists and Disciples. Diverse voluntary societies⁶ which were mainly organized and developed by the ideal of social reform through revivals left a more permanent heritage for later American Protestantism.

One of the most significant changes from the first to the second was that the promoters of the Second Great Awakening modified the strict Calvinist doctrines of man to a more Arminianized form of human sinfulness and ability, which would be the forerunner of the most of later evangelical revival movements. Earlier, Jonathan Edward and George Whitefield, who were both confessional Calvinists, had held firm to the inability of sinful human beings to contribute towards their salvation on the basis of the total depravity of humanity. The leading figures of the Second Great Awakening, however, stressed the human capability to do good and to contribute to their own salvation. This process was gradual, but the signs of the decline of 'pure Calvinism' were clear. This gradual move to an emphasis on the human capacity for response laid the foundation on which the theology of revivalism and activism could be formed.

Above all, it can be argued that the Second Great Awakening, born and developed in the early nineteenth century American context, was a religious reaction against the disruption of the Christian religion after the American Revolution. After the Revolution, American Christianity faced a crisis in several respects. The concern

by magnetic leaders who were highly skilled in communication and group mobilization, shared five features: 1) an ethic of unrelenting toil, 2) a passion for expansion, 3) a hostility to orthodox belief and style, 4) a zeal for religious reconstruction, and 5) a systematic plan to realize their ideals. But these five movements were just representatives that Hatch exemplified. Even many churches in major traditional denominations also joined this intense trend with unknown other new and small groups.

⁶ Major voluntary societies organized in the first third of the nineteenth century are as follows: The American Board for Foreign Mission (1810), American Bible Society (1816), the Colonization Society for Liberated Slaves (1817), the American Tract Society (1825), the American Education

for religion seemed to decrease. Pioneers and promoters of the French Enlightenments and Revolution such as Voltaire, Rousseau and Jean-Paul Marat destroyed the Catholic Church ‘in the name of reason,’ and abolished the Lord’s Day ‘on behalf of freedom.’ The extensive propagandas against traditional Christianity intensified the consensus that the old religion did not need to be preserved for the new Republic in its new era.⁷

The matter of faith in the founders of the new Republic must be dealt with prudence. Their relation to the French Enlightenment is too complicated to reach an agreed conclusion. Nevertheless, the fact that many of the influential leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison searched for non-traditional forms of Christianity, has been accepted among scholars. The God of the founding fathers was ‘Nature’s God.’⁸

The new theories developed in Europe flowed indiscriminately into the elites in a newly established country. Deists such as Ethan Allen (1738-1789) and Thomas Paine (1737-1809), in their newly published books,⁹ attacked the old faith of God’s faithful providential reign of the world and laughed at the authenticity of the Bible.¹⁰ Elihu Palmer (1764-1806), an ex-Baptist minister and ardent follower of Tom Paine,

Society (1826), the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance (1826), the American Home Missionary Society (1826) and other societies. Noll, 169.

⁷ Keith J. Hardman, *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1994), 104f.

⁸ Noll, 133ff.

⁹ Thomas Allen, *Reason the Only Oracle of Man, or a Compendious System of Natural Religion* (Bennington, VT: 1784) and Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason: Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* (Paris: Barrots, 1794, 1796).

¹⁰ Noll, 166f.

also published the *Principles of Nature* to deny the deity of Christ in 1823.¹¹ The main recipients of this trend were professors and students in those colleges established by Christian denominations for the enhancement of the Christian mind. Colleges became the stage of trial and temptation for religious men.¹²

Churches encountered difficulties with the rush of church members to western frontiers seeking for a new and wealthy life. Among immigrants who had been dominated by the desire for land, there was no place for Christian faith and civilized respect for others.¹³ In 1790s, the official rate of Sunday services' attendance was under 10% of adult population in all areas, and the western frontier areas had few churches, pastors, and churchgoers.¹⁴ An intense sense of crisis led to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church sending the annual despairing minutes to all local Presbyterian churches in 1798.

Dear Friends and Brethren: The aspect of divine providence, and the extraordinary situation of the world, at the present moment, indicate, that a solemn admonition by the ministers of religion and other church officers in General Assembly convened, has become our indispensable duty.... A solemn crisis has arrived, in which we are called to the most serious contemplation of the moral causes.... Formality and deadness, not to say hypocrisy; a contempt for vital godliness, and the spirit of fervent piety; a desertion of the ordinances, or a cold and unprofitable attendance upon them, visibly pervade every part of the Church.... God hath a controversy with us—Let us prostrate ourselves before him! Let the deepest humiliation and the sincerest repentance mark our sense of national sins...¹⁵

¹¹ Elihu Palmer, *Principles of Nature or, A development of the Moral Causes of Happiness and Misery among the Human Species* (London, 1823).

¹² Hardman, 106f.

¹³ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, Second Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 430.

¹⁴ Noll, 164, 166

¹⁵ Cf. William M. Engles, ed., *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1789-1820* (Philadelphia, 1847), 152-153, quoted in Hardman, 108.

In 1799, however, a year after the previous year's epistle, the General Assembly reported the hopeful news of revivals in several sites: "there are several particular circumstances peculiarly comforting and encouraging... We have heard from different parts the glad tidings of the outpouring of the Spirit, and of the times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord."¹⁶

James McGready (1762?-1817), a Presbyterian minister, began to recover the pious communities in the opening western frontiers. McGready started prayer meetings in his Presbyterian church, Rogan County, Kentucky "for the conversion of the sinners in Logan County and throughout the world" from 1797. In 1801, he held a large-scale camp meeting in Cane Ridge, which imitated a Scottish ritual form of "communion season." Thousands of people gathered in the meeting and "electrifying results including the jerks, dancing, laughing, running, and the barking exercising" were produced.¹⁷ The interest in the revitalized Christian faith, derived from many camp meetings similar to that in Cane Ridge, rapidly spread to the Presbyterian churches in the South. The audiences' responses to McGready's messages went beyond the traditional Presbyterian order in the services, although he tried to control the excessive emotionalism in his meetings. The case of McGready was a concrete example of the shift in the western Presbyterian revival movement to a popular evangelical type.

In the East, a New England Congregationalist leader, Timothy Dwight (1752-1817) ignited the renewal. Dwight, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, served as

¹⁶ Engles, 177, quoted in Hardman, 108.

¹⁷ John B. Boles, *The Great Revival: Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1972), 68.

president of Yale College from 1795 to his death of 1817. His priority of reform for the college, in which religious apathy was dominant, was spiritual and moral renewal accompanied by academic excellence. Lyman Beecher (1775-1863) was Dwight's successor and later promoter of the religious enterprise, which united evangelism with the social reform and benevolence movement.

The renewal and recovery of Yale was the uppermost priority for Dwight and his supporters. Early in the spring of 1802, two senior students were seized by qualms of conscience for their sins and were soon converted. Spiritual concerns filled Yale with conversions related to eternal salvation. When students returned to their homes with the news of the Yale revival, the influence of renewal spread.¹⁸ This reflected Dwight's hopes that the revival at Yale would be ideally situated to exert a redoubtable influence on the rest of the nation. About 800,000 New Englanders shifted into upstate New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan from 1790 to 1820. Most of them were "Connecticut Yankees." Yale graduates, prepared and equipped themselves for divine ministry, moved with these pioneers to the western states and established their evangelical ethos in these frontier lands. "Under the inspiration of Dwight and his lieutenants, this natural movement became a great mission."¹⁹

Dwight's influence in the early Republic era not only achieved a religious revival based on experience and emotion, but was also extended to the intellectual sphere, from which finally the theological reformation within the PCUSA originated.

¹⁸ Hardman, 113.

¹⁹ George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970; Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2003), 10.

Dwight, in his work, *Theology*, “rejected the belief in the utter sinfulness of all ‘unregenerate doings,’ asserting that ‘it is the soul, which is thus taught, alarmed, and allured, upon which descends’ the Holy Spirit.”²⁰ Dwight proposed an ‘Arminianized Calvinism’ that prepared “the way for free will by attempting to break the log jam of human ability that had stymied and brought ridicule upon Calvinism.” He “mounted a program for evangelism behind which he hoped Calvinists could unite.” Through the work of his successors such as Lyman Beecher, Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844), a great itinerant evangelist throughout New England, Nathaniel Taylor (1786-1858), the first theological professor at Yale Divinity School, and finally Charles Finney (1792-1875),²¹ this revised teaching became “the future for American Protestantism.”²²

Beecher was the most significant figure in the history of the Second Great Awakening before the emergence of Charles Finney and an early representative of what came to exemplify features of nineteenth century evangelical movement in America. After short periods in Congregational pulpits in Connecticut, he ministered at the East Hampton Presbyterian Church on Long Island in 1799.²³

After moving to a Congregational church in Litchfield, Connecticut in 1810, he gained fame as a “revivalist, political observer, and social reformer.” Leaving Litchfield for a pastoral position at Hanover Street Church in Boston in 1826, he fought against New England Unitarianism. His life as president of Lane Theological

²⁰ Timothy Dwight, *Theology: Explained and Defended in a Series of Sermons* (Middletown, CT: Clark and Lyman, 1818-1819), IV:4, 43, 58, 60, quoted in Hardman, 115.

²¹ For details on Finney, see the second chapter.

²² Hardman, 116, 144.

Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio in 1832 was even more decisive because he shaped his ideas concerning social reform in the seminary which would be a centre of New School Presbyterianism.²⁴ With the idea of the “Moral Government of God,” he argued that “God governed the world by his moral laws.” “National blessings, such as victory in the Revolution and an abundance of resources, were signs that America was favoured by God.” The new awakenings for him were “to declare the purpose of God to give a prominent place to this nation in the glorious work of renovating the earth.”²⁵ This idea promoted the enormous social and missionary efforts for evangelization and reformation which emerged in America in the nineteenth century, with “the crusading spirit.”²⁶

2. The Evangelical Shift: New School Presbyterianism

Regarding my aim to demonstrate the Arminian-oriented evangelicalization of Presbyterianism in nineteenth-century America and its importance to the eventual McCormick mission to Korea, the most significant event was the making of the evangelical united front and the related emergence of New School Presbyterianism. The gradual move both to theological tolerance and to the revivalist ethos which stressed the human ability to respond to the Christian gospel was not the monopoly of Congregationalists in the East. The evangelical zeal to save pioneers in frontiers

²³ David Torbett, “Lyman Beecher,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals*, ed. Timothy Larsen, David W. Bebbington and Mark A. Noll (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2003), 41f.

²⁴ John. R. Fitzmier, “Lyman Beecher,” in *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, ed. D. G. Hart and Mark A. Noll (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1999; Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 2005), 28.

²⁵ Marsden, 20ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

and the nation from Godlessness opened the road to an ecumenical alliance between two denominations, as Presbyterians and Methodists would do in Korea in 1905.

Congregationalists in Connecticut who were under the influence of Yale revivalists and Presbyterians who obtained their dominance in the Mid-Atlantic states and the South felt more obviously their similarities in both theology and practice at the turn of the nineteenth century than in any other period. Connecticut Congregationalists also recognized that Presbyterians had a more Calvinist and traditional confession of faith than their Unitarian brethren in Massachusetts.

When Timothy Dwight and his lieutenants extended their influence to the Presbyterians as well as to the Connecticut Congregationalists, a new tendency towards alliance grew conspicuously between the two groups. Adherents in the bordering areas between two denominations, that is, Congregationalists in Connecticut and Presbyterians in upstate New York, made the display of their deep fellowship more obvious. They shared pupils and pastoral positions and exchanged their delegates. “Even in Connecticut the term Presbyterianism had been acceptable and common usage for designating Congregational affiliation.”²⁷

The climax of this alliance was the Plan of Union of 1801, in which they sanctioned the formal relationship between two groups. Finally, New School Presbyterianism, which had its origin from the early stream of the Second Great Awakening, officially emerged and simultaneously secured a firm and wide ground on which their evangelical endeavour could bear abundant fruits. The Plan of Union contributed to the expansion of evangelical religion into the American interior with

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

systematic and secured support. However, beyond the visual success of the Presbyterian Church, it must be remembered that the modified theology, derived from the Yale Congregationalists, led Presbyterians into a severe conflict within their denomination. Traditionalists in the Presbyterian Church rejected this united front as they believed that it would damage Presbyterian evangelistic enterprise in the West and would decisively pollute the orthodox Calvinist doctrines of salvation and humanity.

New School Presbyterianism which emerged officially in the history of the early nineteenth century America through the Plan of Union was an exemplar of American evangelicalism of the century in many respects: “In the remarkably successful united evangelical efforts to rescue the nation from sin and apostasy, and stressing revivalism, moral reform, interdenominational cooperation, and evangelical piety, New School Presbyterianism embodied the characteristics that virtually all observers agree were typical of the mainstream of American Protestantism.”²⁸ The missionary movement that would reach its peak at the second half of nineteenth century America including the McCormick mission to Korea, was deeply affected by the missionary zeal of evangelicals like the New School Presbyterians to be an ‘errand into the wilderness.’

The most significant figure representing early New School Presbyterianism was probably Lyman Beecher. He frequented two denominations to perform his pastoral and reform works. In his effort to promote the alliance between two denominations and to support revivals and moral absolutism in reforming the nation, he softened the

²⁸ *Ibid.*, x.

standards of the Westminster Confession of Faith.²⁹ The influx of New Haven Theology of Nathaniel Taylor and Samuel Hopknis, more innovative than that of previous Yale Congregationalists such as Timothy Dwight, Lyman Beecher, and Asahel Nettleton, agitated the Presbyterian Church, leading to some conflict and argument. Basic to their theology was the denial of the absolute inability of man imputed by Adam's original sin and the affirmation of unregenerate man's ability to resist sin and to choose good.

Significant New School leaders such as Albert Barnes (1798-1870), George Duffield (1794-1868), and even Lyman Beecher, between 1831 and 1836, were charged as heretics for emphasizing man's capability to choose good when faced with moral choices. The 1837 general assembly was dominated by an Old School majority at which the Plan of Union, regarded as the well-spring of heresy, was denounced. The four synods of Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva, and Genesee in upstate New York, formed under the Plan of Union, were expelled. In 1838, the vast majority of the New School Presbyterians, including the expelled four synods decided to organize a general assembly and then became a new Presbyterian denomination in America. The schism was complete. For thirty-two years, from 1837 to 1869, they were known as respectively Old School and New School.³⁰

The primary cause of the schism was the theological modification by the New School Presbyterians. While it is not easy to judge how widespread the new theological trends in the early nineteenth century's America were among the New

²⁹ S. R. Pointer, "New School Presbyterians and Theology," in *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 174. McCormick missionaries in Korea had the almost same attitude to apply this Confession to the Korean Church. See chapter four for more details.

School Presbyterians, it was true that theological changes by above-mentioned major New School leaders existed. The New School Presbyterians were more tolerant to the theological diversity than the Old School men. New School Presbyterianism emphasized ecumenical unity rather than the purity of the Reformed doctrines to promote the efficacy of the revival and reform. “The New Haven Theology,” which was transmitted to pro-revival Presbyterians by Connecticut Congregationalists through the Plan of Union, “was a powerful engine for revival and reform, since it provided a rationale for trusting God while exerting one’s own energies to the fullest. New Haven Theology arose out of the Calvinist tradition, but its emphasis on human capacities carried it in the direction of the Methodism”—the most powerful stronghold of Arminian Christianity in America— that was then exerting such a dramatic influence on American religion.”³¹

There was transformation in the practical area as well. The New School Presbyterians participated actively in the voluntary societies³² outside the Church. These volunteer societies generally took an interdenominational orientation. These new adherents engaged themselves in the social and moral reform with zeal to make America a Christian nation. Total temperance, strict Sunday observance, and abolitionism became clearer indicators of New School Presbyterians than of their opposition.³³

³⁰ Lefferts A. Loetscher, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*, Fourth Edition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1978), 98.

³¹ Noll, 233.

³² See n.6.

³³ For more details, see Marsden, chs.2 and 3. In Korean case, McCormick alumni added the total ban of smoking to this list.

Ironically, during the period of the two separated denominations, there was a gradual return to orthodoxy among the New School Presbyterians. They became doctrinally stricter and more denominational. The Plan of Union between the New School Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Church terminated in 1852 as well. The causes of the shift to orthodoxy among New School Presbyterianism can be explained as follows. Firstly, the two Northern Presbyterian Churches had a common mind to make their homeland a greater Christian nation through the emancipation of slaves, Secondly, the mediating theology of Henry Boynton Smith (1815-1877)³⁴ resulted in reunion of the two Presbyterian denominations. Smith, the moderator of the New School general assembly in 1863 and professor of systematic theology in Union Theological Seminary in New York City, defended the reunion by maintaining that a majority in the New School had already removed the Arminian ingredients of the New England theology from their denomination and thus the issues by which two Schools were divided in 1838 almost disappeared. Finally, and somewhat compromising the meaning of ‘subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith,’ in 1869, though some Old School men including Charles Hodge still remained mildly opposed, the Old School and the New School reunited.

Understanding the historical place and legacy of New School Presbyterianism is important for the aim of tracing the developmental process of the nineteenth century American evangelical movement and revealing one key source of Korean Presbyterianism in this movement. As already mentioned, New School Presbyterianism stood in the centre of the nineteenth century American religious culture as one major initiator in a larger evangelical movement. It combined pietist-

³⁴ For more details of Henry Boynton Smith, see Marsden, ch.8.

revivalist ideas with the American cultural mandate as God's chosen nation. Their self-recognition of the 'errand into the wildernesses' in their homeland was followed by the historical mission of America to the world, extending to the self-image of 'errand to the world.' In this sense, in fact, although the New School was institutionally merged with the Old School, with the cultural and even theological victory over the Old School as the representative of old religious system, a more Arminianized evangelical mind of new school Presbyterianism nevertheless became the dominant religious ethos and culture in the nineteenth century America, and even in the McCormick mission in Korea field.³⁵

³⁵ For the relation between the New School and the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy, see Epilogue: The New School Presbyterian Tradition in the Twentieth Century—Fundamentalist or Liberal? in Marsden, 245-249. Marsden concluded that New School Presbyterianism had historical, theological and social ties with both later fundamentalism and later liberalism. In some respects, such as the interests in German theology at Union Seminary, doctrinal tolerance, especially the affirmation of human ability to choose salvation, post-millennialism related to the belief in the social and moral progress through human campaign, and ecumenical cooperation with diverse denomination, the New School doubtless contributed to the development of the later liberalism. But in other respects, such as its revivalism, moralistic reformism, strict Biblicism, a relatively low view of the Church, pre-millennialism, and emphasis on the fundamentals as a means for the unity of the Church, the New School stood far closer to subsequent fundamentalism," 248f.

II. The Growth of Revivalism and the Missionary Enthusiasm in the American Presbyterian Church: Charles Finney and Arthur Pierson

To show the historical shift of American Presbyterianism to a broader evangelical form, which proved to relate to Korean ideology more smoothly than the more traditional Calvinist view of the person would have done, this chapter will focus on the two main figures, Charles Finney (1792-1875) and Arthur T. Pierson (1837-1911). Finney and Pierson, the representatives of Presbyterian involvement in antebellum and post-bellum American evangelical movement respectively, can be said to be two of most famous New School Presbyterians in the nineteenth century American Presbyterian history. At the same time, they can also be evaluated as two representatives who enabled the American Presbyterian Church to detach from its historical Calvinist tradition, mainly expressed in the Old School, to the new way, finally to a crucial direction for the Presbyterian mission in Korea.

These international and interdenominational promoters of revival and missionary movements had an influence on the formation of the nineteenth- and twentieth century American popular Christianity beyond their denominational border. To describe the related complicated process of evangelical shift in American Presbyterianism, I will focus on the life and work of these two figures and their religious, social and historical backgrounds. This investigation of the history of revival and missionary movements in the American Presbyterian tradition will serve as the foundation for the discussion of relations between this movement and the McCormick missionaries, who were born and brought up in this particular American context and transplanted this Americanized tradition to the Korean soil.

1. Charles Finney and the New Measures

A consideration of the geographical area in which Charles Finney grew, converted to Christianity, and worked most of his life is essential for evaluating the significance of the influences he received and passed on. From his childhood to his death, his field of Christian ministry was concentrated in upstate New York and the Midwest, where the major revivals and Christian expansion erupted and was promoted by influential Christian leaders throughout nineteenth century.

As already dealt with in the previous chapter, the revivals at Yale and adjacent areas of Connecticut led by Timothy Dwight, Lyman Beecher, and Asahel Nettleton expanded to new frontiers of upstate New York and the Midwest, led by Baptist farmer preachers, Methodist itinerants, and especially Presbyterian ministers who were strongly supported by the 1801 Plan of Union. This Plan was “designed to foster joint action rather than needless conflict in the home missionary enterprise” between Congregationalists and Presbyterians and existed for at least thirty-five years. In practice, the Plan as a missionary project contributed to the diffusion of evangelical faith into the American interior.³⁶

The significance of upstate New York in the early and mid-nineteenth century American revivals needs to be discussed further. It was especially concentrated in one area, called “the Burned over district” in which there were frequent revivals. The analogical usage of fire for revivals was common at that time, as Ryman Beecher expressed “burnt over” or “burned over” in his letters referring to “the western

³⁶ R. W. Pointer, “Plan of Union,” in *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, Daniel G. Reid, Robert D. Linder, Bruce L. Shelley and Harry S. Stout, ed. (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 911.

sections of the State of New York, during the great revivals of 1826-27.”³⁷ Finney used this expression in his *Memoirs of Charles Finney*. The phrase “Burnt-over district” was “applied by historians to much wider areas of upstate New York, and even to larger tracts of the northern states that were affected by the revival and reform movements of the antebellum period.”³⁸ Robert Hastings Nichols, in his book *Presbyterianism in New York State*, describes the repeated surge of early revivals in this district which continued to the Finney’s heyday.

These occurred mostly in the central and western parts of the state, but also in the east, in New York City, the Albany region, and the northeast.... The years 1815 to 1817 saw widespread and powerful awakenings. The historian James H. Hotchkin records in 1816 and 1817 fifty-four towns from Norwich in the Chenango Valley to Buffalo in which Presbyterian and Congregational churches were visited by revivals. In 1815 the Presbytery of Utica reported nearly as many conversions as in the Finney revival a decade later. A generally low period was reaching during 1819 and 1820, though awakening occurred. In the early 1820’s came a fresh wave revivalism. The awakenings of 1822 to 1824, though not equal to those of 1815 to 1817, were numerous, widespread, and powerful, and produced a lasting condition of religious awareness... From the fervor and excitement of successive awakenings came the expression “Burned-over District.”³⁹

Charles Finney, who was born in Litchfield County, Connecticut, was taken by his parents into this “Burned-over district.” His family and Finney himself typified the pioneers in the frontiers who lived in New England, moved to upstate New York for finding better chances of life, and finally experienced religious awakenings in their new settlements. From his early years, Finney grew with the influences formed by this social and religious atmosphere, wittingly or unwittingly.

³⁷ Charles G. Finney, *The Memoirs of Charles G. Finney: The Completed Restored Text*, Garth M. Rosell & Richard A. G. Dupuis, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989), 78, n24. For the complete list of Beecher’s letters on the expression of “Burnt over,” see n24 in the same book.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 78, n24.

³⁹ Robert Hastings Nichols, *Presbyterianism in New York State: A History of the Synod and Its Processors* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1963), 90f.

Finney, originally interested in teaching and indeed teaching in New Jersey until 1816, changed his direction of life to the law in his mid-twenties. In 1818, he entered the office of Judge Benjamin Wright in Adams, New York as an apprentice to study law. But his life in Adams was not limited to study in law, but extended to studies in religion. He spent much time to study Christian belief under the guidance of Rev. George Gale. The time in Adams with Gale, however, did not help him find a significant meaning of life in Christianity. The theology of Gale, an Old School minister graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary, seemed to him a *hyper*-thing, excessive and unusual far beyond any normal standard. From his initial experience of Christian doctrine, he felt the major orthodox Calvinist doctrines were something he must reject.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, he “used to attend a stated prayer meeting and listen to their prayers very frequently and for months together.” He soon bought a Bible, and “read and meditated on it much more than” he “had had ever done before” in his life.⁴¹

Through deep agony concerning his salvation since his time in Adams, Finney’s religiously dramatic conversion occurred on October, 10, 1821, even though he did not accept the Calvinist concept of human condition.

As I went in and shut the door after me, it seemed as if I met the Lord Jesus Christ face to face. It did not occur to me then, nor did it for sometime afterward, that it was wholly a mental state. On the contrary, it seemed to me that I met him face to face, and saw him as I would see any other man.... I have always since regarded this as a most remarkable state of mind; for it seemed to me a reality that he stood before me, and that I fell down at his feet and poured

⁴⁰ Finney, 9 and n38. “George Washington Gale (1789-1861) was pastor at Adams from 1819 to 1824. He became well known as the originator of the Manual Labor Institute at Oneida, New York, and later as the founder of Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, a town that was named after him.”

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

out my soul to him. I wept aloud like a child, and made such confessions as I could with my choked utterance.”⁴²

On the advice of George W. Gale, in the spring of 1822, Finney met a committee in the local Presbytery as a candidate for the Presbyterian ministry. The committee members urged him to study theology at Princeton Theological Seminary to become a Presbyterian pastor. Finney astonished them by responding, however; “I would not put myself under such an influence as they had been under; that I was confident they had been wrongly educated, and they were not ministers that met my ideal of what a minister of Christ should be.”⁴³ In spite of their shock at his answer, they reluctantly permitted him to study to be a Presbyterian clergyman under the supervision of a local pastor, George Gale.

Finney’s theological study with George Gale was not an easy road because Finney did not accept many of Gale’s Old School doctrines and he spent most of his apprenticeship in doctrinal controversy. In March, 1824, Finney’s local Presbytery, St. Lawrence Presbytery, finally gathered to examine Finney’s theological training and to license him to preach. The Presbytery tried to avoid doctrinal conflict with Finney, and focused on the confirmation of the authenticity of his conversion and his religious practices. When he was asked whether he received the Westminster Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, he “replied that I received it for substance of doctrine, so far as I understood it,” even though he did not study it

⁴² *Ibid.*, 23f.

⁴³ Charles G. Finney, *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Company, 1876), 45f.

thoroughly, and did not know much about it. “They voted unanimously to license him to preach,” however.⁴⁴

The fact that Finney was licensed to preach in spite of his doctrinal dissent from key Presbyterian orthodox in a Presbytery leads to the question of what was the ordination policy in the Presbyterian Church at the time. One possible explanation of Finney’s licence to preach is that St. Lawrence in New York State belonged to the Plan of Union, which would be one of leading forces to form the New School Presbyterian General Assembly in 1837. In order to maintain the cooperation with the Connecticut Congregationalists and to promote revivals and mission enterprises in the frontiers, the New School Presbyterians, in which the New York Presbyterians had the initiative, had a tendency to lessen the doctrinal strictness, as McCormick missionaries would have in Korea for the peaceful cooperation with Methodists.

The issues arouse by Finney at the Presbyteries in the region of New York State were not limited to his disagreement with the Calvinist ideas of the total depravity of human kind and its derived human inability to accept God’s grace. Finney’s popular preaching style also made other preachers uncomfortable. He insisted he used “the language of the common people,” and expressed all his “ideas in few words and in words that were in common use.”⁴⁵

Finney was appointed as a missionary to Jefferson County in northern New York State by the Female Missionary Society of the Western District in March, 1824 and then was ordained in July to start his pastoral ministry in Evans Mills and Antwerp, New York. Under his preaching in Jefferson and St. Lawrence Counties, a

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 80f.

series of revivals occurred. From 1825 to 1827, revivals extended to the western counties, the “Burned over district,” centred in Oneida County.⁴⁶

The “new measures,” Finney exercised in these revivals resulted in his national fame. The “new measures” contained “public praying by women in mixed audiences, protracted series of meetings (lengthy services held each night for several weeks), colloquial language used by the preacher, the anxious seat or bench (a front pew for those under conviction), the practice of praying for people by name, immediate church membership for converts,”⁴⁷ and groups of workers to visit all the homes of community. Charles Finney was not the inventor of these measures. Before Finney, Methodists already had utilised them in their mission fields. Since his adopting of them, however, they became the standard methods for revival meetings in America and all over the world, including Korea.

The use of these measures exposed his theology. In the case of Finney as a Presbyterian minister, the measures were not compatible with the teaching of Calvinism, according to which it was impossible for human beings to choose to make a commitment by their own faith and will.⁴⁸ Even some leaders in the New England revivals such as Lyman Beecher and Asahel Nettleton as well as Presbyterian pastors complained about Finney’s use of human methods to achieve results. But Finney had far more supporters than detractors throughout the country. The theological topography of the first half of the nineteenth century indeed saw drastic change to a more Arminian evangelical form in America and almost all American mission fields.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁴⁷ Keith J. Hardman, *Charles Grandison Finney 1792-1875: Revivalist and Reformer* (Durham, England: Evangelical Press, 1990), 84.

⁴⁸ M. R. Fraser, “New Measures,” in *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 174.

Given the Confucian basis of Korean society, especially elite male, where the obligation of the person is to ‘polish the jade’ that is, to improve the self, this was a crucial change of Presbyterian direction.

In 1826, Finney founded the Oneida Evangelical Association with those colleagues who agreed in order to extend the evangelical revivals. The aim of this association was “to send forth... evangelists” to “establish and benefit the Redeemer’s Kingdom.” “For the first time in the nation’s history, professional evangelists banded together for ‘the salvation of the world.’”⁴⁹ From 1827, he started to be invited to preach in the major cities and towns of the east such as Wilmington in Delaware, Philadelphia, New York City, Boston and Rochester. The invitation from Philadelphia signalled that his influence extended to the stronghold of the orthodox Old School Presbyterians. But he was confident to preach what he believed and “endeavoured to show that if man were as helpless as their views represented him to be, he was not to blame for his sins. If he had lost in Adam all power of obedience, so that obedience had become impossible to him, and that not by his own act or consent, but by the act of Adam, it was mere nonsense to say that he could be blamed for what he could not help.... Indeed, the Lord helped me to show up, I think, with irresistible clearness the peculiar dogmas of old-schoolism and their inevitable results.”⁵⁰

The most successful revival campaign in Finney’s whole life was a large-scale revival campaign in Rochester, New York in 1830-1831. It was “the first city-wide

⁴⁹ Garth Rosell, *Charles Grandison Finney and the Rise of the Benevolence Empire* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1971), 36

⁵⁰ Finney, 235f.

evangelistic endeavour in American history,”⁵¹ at which “a hundred thousand in the nation made religious affiliations within a year, an event unparalleled in the history of the church.”⁵² Finney and his revivalist colleagues used and practiced every method Finney created and developed in these campaigns.

One of the factors of his success was that his idea of revival and human ability coincided with the American ideal that the new Republic must grow without ceasing to show they truly were God’s New Israel to all nations. The biggest difference in this long-established American idea between the New England Puritans who first had it and the nineteenth century revivalists was that, while the Puritans saw as a strict Calvinist form on the basis of God’s grace, the revivalists stressed human achievement.⁵³ Finney insisted in his first lecture of revivals as follows: “A revival is not a miracle, nor dependent on a miracle, in any sense. It is purely philosophical result of the right use of the constituted means—as much so as any other effect produced by the application of means.... I said that a revival is the result of the right use of the appropriate means. The means which God has enjoined for the production of a revival, doubtless have a natural tendency to produce a revival. Otherwise God would not have enjoined them.”⁵⁴

William McLoughlin, the editor of Finney’s *Lectures* in 1960, stated Finney’s hostility toward orthodox Calvinist ideas in his introduction to the book.

⁵¹ Hardman, *Seasons of Refreshing*, 158.

⁵² Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 156.

⁵³ For more details of American religious idea of destiny and foreign missions thought, see William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

⁵⁴ Charles G. Finney, *Revivals of Religion: Lectures*, ed. William Henry Harding (London: Morgan and Scott Ltd., 1910), 5.

The first thing that strikes the reader of the *Lectures on Revivals* is the virulence of Finney's hostility toward traditional Calvinism and all it stood for. He denounced its doctrinal dogmas (which, as embodied in the Westminster Confession of Faith, he referred to elsewhere as "this wonderful theological fiction"); he rejected its exaltation of the sovereign and miraculous power of God in regard to conversions and the promotion of revivals); he scorned its pessimistic attitude toward human nature and progress (particularly in regard to the freedom of the will); and he thoroughly deplored its hierarchical and legalistic polity (as embodied in the ecclesiastical system of the Presbyterian Church). Or to put it more succinctly, John Calvin's philosophy was theocentric and organic; Charles Finney's was anthropocentric and individualistic.⁵⁵

Finney's positive idea of human ability extended to his thought of human sanctification, "perfectionism." In 1835 Finney accepted an appointment as professor of theology at the new Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio, and later served as president of the school between 1851 and 1866. At Oberlin, Finney, together with Asa Machen, the first president of the school, developed "Oberlin Perfectionism" that "holiness consists primarily of the perfection of the will and is available to every Christian after conversion."⁵⁶

Finney's theology of good will, especially the confirmation of the converted Christian's ability for good deeds led him to be a strong supporter of social reform movements. He borrowed the ideas of God's moral reign and universal benevolence from the New England reformers such as Dwight and Beecher, and threw himself enthusiastically into reform movements in the areas of temperance, slavery, social evil, world peace, education, Sabbath observance, blasphemy, women's right, and care for the retarded. In other words, "Finney's theological emphases on the Moral Government of God, the powers of human will, and the state of entire sanctification

⁵⁵ Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, ed. William G. McLoughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), ix-x.

⁵⁶ J. W. Bowen, "Oberlin Theology," in *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, 834.

played a key role in the evolution of American Protestant Theology.”⁵⁷ He epitomized the development of traditional Reformed theology into Arminianized evangelical theology in the nineteenth century America.

McCormick missionaries to Korea since 1888 were brought up in the Midwest, Finney’s major field of ministry together with upstate New York. Finney’s influence on successive popular revivals in America and beyond lasted even until the new century and beyond. It was clear that McCormick missionaries had internalized the ecumenical revival mentality in their homeland, which would be showed by their open attitude to cooperation with missionaries from other denominations in Korea. They did not stress many traditional Reformed doctrines, and were thus enabled to build interdenominational and evangelical partnership in Korea. However, they did not accept Finney’s idea of human perfectibility, which was too far detached from his and their Calvinist roots.⁵⁸

2. Evangelical Presbyterian Missionary Impulse: Arthur T. Pierson and Premillennialism

The epoch-making change of 1870s in American history separated nineteenth century America from its infancy. Before the Civil War (1861-1865), Protestantism was recognized as if it was a state religion by many Americans. The ideal of Protestant America as the chosen country for the mission to the world was accelerated by the success of the American Revolution. Evangelical Christianity in the first half of the nineteenth century, including New School Presbyterianism, had

⁵⁷ Noll, 175.

⁵⁸ I will treat this topic in details in the fourth chapter.

believed that its evangelistic and social efforts could contribute largely to make America “a city on a hill.” A series of successful revivals since the First Great Awakening seemed to promote the Kingdom of God to be established on earth more rapidly.

In the 1870s, however, with the development of modern secular cities, the enormous influx of non-Protestant immigrants and the prevalence of anti-Christian modernism, the final age of “public Protestantism” in America began.⁵⁹ The most significant theological engine of the strong social reform programs promoted by evangelicals like Lyman Beecher, Charles Finney and the New School Presbyterians before 1870s was Postmillennialism. Postmillennialism “was optimistic about the spiritual progress of the culture” and expected that the Kingdom of God would soon be established on earth with the victory of good over evil. To abolish slavery, to establish the benevolence empire, to educate orphans and women and to practice temperance were concrete preparations to hasten the postmillennial vision.⁶⁰

After 1870s, however, American evangelicalism divided into two groups, fundamentalist and modernist, in response to new social trends such as Modernism and Darwinism. A more conservative group among the descendents of American evangelicals selected Premillennialism as their base, especially in its Dispensational form. This was more pessimistic about the world, stressing the imminent Second

⁵⁹ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925*, Second Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 49. For more arguments of fundamentalism, see Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millennialism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970) and Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 49f.

Coming of Jesus Christ. Premillennialism was one of the most significant ingredients of fundamentalism after 1875.⁶¹

It was at this point of time when the missionary movement became an unprecedented flood. Of course, there had been significant missionary endeavours to evangelize the new settlers in the new world, the pioneers in the frontiers, the American Indians and foreign people in overseas lands before the Civil War. By 1812, for example, five missionaries, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel Newell, Gordon Hall and Luther Rice, had been sent to India and to the Far East. In 1826, the American Home Missionary Society was formed to preach the gospel to the American frontiers.⁶² But the missionary impulse of this period was less promoted by eschatological vision than was the case in the post-bellum missionary movement.

This eschatological missionary movement was epitomized by D. L. Moody and Arthur Pierson. Moody, a pioneer and harbinger of the missionary movement in post-bellum America, was a firm premillennialist. His ultimate concern was always to save souls, as it is shown in his most quoted sermon, “I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, ‘Moody, save all you can.’”⁶³ His premillennial idea, which “the world grows worse and worse,” “was an important departure from the dominant tradition of American evangelicalism,” as expressed and practiced by Charles Finney and the New School Presbyterians.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 51ff.

⁶² Noll, 185ff.

⁶³ D. L. Moody, “The Second Coming of Christ,” *The Best of D. L. Moody*, ed. Wilbur M. Smith (Chicago, 1971), 193.

⁶⁴ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 38.

Moody's premillennial view of the Last Days led him to the intense promotion of the missionary movement. His annual Conferences in Northfield, Massachusetts since 1883 and the Student Volunteer Movement, mobilized the missionary candidates under the watchword, "the evangelization of the world in this generation" declared by Arthur T. Pierson.

In many respects, Arthur T. Pierson was a key figure connecting the New School Presbyterian revivalists and the Presbyterian missionaries. On the one hand, his link to antebellum American Presbyterianism was that he had the background of New School Presbyterianism. He was born in New York City in 1837, when upstate New York as "the burnt-over district" was the centre of the New School Presbyterians. He was converted in a local Methodist Church in Tarrytown at the age of thirteen. It was an example of his life-long ecumenical and evangelical experiences that he crossed the border lines between denominations. Pierson attended Hamilton College in Clinton, New York, a town in the "burned-over district," and Union Theological Seminary in New York City, "the favoured training ground for New School Presbyterian ministers."⁶⁵ Union Theological Seminary was "founded by revivalistic Presbyterians as a place of ecumenical openness and partnership with other denominations in the Reformed tradition."⁶⁶ Henry Boynton Smith, a representative theologian in New School Presbyterianism, who had the most significant influence on Pierson, was professor at this school in Pierson's seminary years. Smith helped Pierson combine his ecumenical "tolerance of other evangelical

⁶⁵ Dana L. Robert, *Occupy Until I Come: A. T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 14ff.

⁶⁶ Robert, 22.

denominations” with “his unwavering seriousness toward every word in the Bible.”⁶⁷

Two Presbyterian churches he ministered at, from 1863 to 1882, Waterford Church in New York and Fort Street Church in Detroit, were affiliated with New School Presbyterianism.⁶⁸ Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, which awarded an honorary Doctorate of Divinity to Pierson, was an affiliated institution of the New School related to the anti-slavery movement in the Midwest.⁶⁹

On the other hand, Pierson linked himself to a new evangelical legacy as a central promoter of the post-bellum missionary movement, which was directly linked to McCormick missionaries to Korea. This feature was revealed most obviously in his catchword, “the evangelization of the world in this generation.” In this phrase, which was first spoken at Moody’s International Prophetic Conference in Northfield, MA in 1886 and soon became the slogan of the Student Volunteer Movement, he unfolded his premillennial mission theory. For Pierson, “the hope of Christ’s Second Coming was the greatest motivation for world evangelization,” and “the motivating of the SVM watchword was its implicit belief that Christ would return once world evangelization was complete.”⁷⁰ Pierson’s influence was overwhelming: He was the lifetime supporter of the Evangelical Alliance; the editor of one of the most famous and interdenominational mission periodicals for twenty-four years; the writer of over fifty books including several on mission; the speaker at major revival and missionary

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁷⁰ Robert, “Arthur Tappan Pierson,” in *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 188f. For detailed description of the relation between the modern missionary movement and Premillennialism in the turn of the twentieth century, see chapter 6 in Dana L. Robert, *Occupy Until I Come*; and *idem*, “‘The Crisis of Missions’: Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of

conferences; the founder of important evangelical institutions; the mentor of later great mission promoters such as John Mott, Robert Speer, Samuel Zwemer and Henry Frost; the minister of several large and important churches; and the administrative leader of the General Assembly of the PCUSA.⁷¹ Most McCormick missionaries to Korea after 1888 were firm premillennialists, who were inevitably influenced by Pierson, Moody, their associates and their sponsored missionary meetings. They became pioneers of the early evangelical Korean Presbyterian Church, solidly rooted in the soils of ecumenical, premillennial, revivalist and pietist ethos.

Independent Evangelical Missions,” in *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Mission, 1880-1930*, ed. Joel Carpenter and Wilbert Shenk (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990).

⁷¹ Robert, “Arthur Tappan Pierson 1837-1911,” in *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson, Robert T. Coote, Norman A. Horner, and James M. Phillips (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994), 28-36.

III. McCormick Seminary and Its Theology

The main contribution toward the missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century—both overseas mission and home mission— was made by the alumni of theological schools throughout the States. A Presbyterian training program for pastoral candidates, for example, began with the Service Seminary in western Pennsylvania in 1794. Princeton and Union in Virginia were founded by Old School Presbyterians in 1812, Auburn in New York in 1818 (later, merged to Union in New York City in 1836) by New School Presbyterians, Western in Pennsylvania in 1827, Columbia in South Carolina in 1828 (later, moved to Georgia), Lane in Ohio in 1829 and, the main focus of our attention, Presbyterian in Indiana, which was founded in Indiana in 1830 (moved to Chicago in 1859 and changed its name to McCormick⁷² in 1886).⁷³

As well as theological seminaries, Presbyterians cooperated with many educational, missionary and social reform programs voluntary societies. Many such societies joined together beyond denominational boundaries so as to work more effectively. On the western frontiers, however, they established denomination-affiliated schools, especially in the Midwest. Thus, students in the schools, which were found by the revivalistic enthusiasm in the nineteenth century, engaged themselves in the missionary and reform endeavours to promote the Christian ideals

⁷² McCormick Theological Seminary was initially established as the Theological Department of Hanover College, Indiana in 1830. It moved to New Albany, Indiana, and called New Albany Theological Seminary in 1840. It was reorganized and moved to Chicago to be called Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest in 1859. In 1886 it renamed McCormick Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church and in 1928 renamed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, and finally returned to its founder's name, McCormick Theological Seminary, as it is still called. Cf. *General Catalogue, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, Lane Seminary Affiliated* (Chicago: Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 1939), iv.

to their national frontiers and far beyond to the 'Heathen' world. The graduates of these schools became responsible and influential leaders in all social spheres of their local, national and international communities.⁷⁴ And, as I shall show, McCormick graduates fulfilled all the expectations of their sending college and its linked voluntary societies

The most significant missionaries who contributed to the shaping of the Korean Presbyterian Church from 1885 were graduates of McCormick Seminary in Chicago.⁷⁵ 17 (24.28%) of the 70 ordained American Presbyterian male missionaries worked in Korea, 1885-1910, the formative years of the Korean Church, were McCormick alumni. Others were from Princeton (16), Union in Virginia (9), Auburn (6), Union in New York City (4), Kentucky (4), Omaha in Nebraska (3), San Francisco (3) and others (8).⁷⁶ The difference between McCormick missionaries with 24.28 percent and Princeton alumni with 22.85 percent was not big, but McCormick graduates' early impact to Korean field was far more overwhelming than Princeton's. In order to deal with this point first, let me show the place of Princeton missionaries in Korea, before continuing with McCormick missionaries.

⁷³ James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville, KY: Geneva Press, 1996), 75f.

⁷⁴ These schools included following liberal colleges like Davidson in North Carolina, Centre in Kentucky, Lafayette in Pennsylvania, Muskingum in Ohio, Illinois College, Wooster in Ohio, Hanover in Indiana, Emporia in Kansas, Macalester in Minnesota, Alma in Michigan, Lake Forest in Illinois, Montana College and many others. There were also colleges for women like Mary Baldwin in Virginia, Agnes Scott in Georgia and Lindenwood in Missouri. Cf. Smylie, 75.

⁷⁵ Since its establishment in 1830 until 1884, just seventeen graduates became missionaries. According to a data, during three years between 1885 and 1888, however, seventeen alumni committed themselves to foreign mission. A total of 235 graduates departed from their home to become foreign missionaries from 1885 to 1929.
http://www.pckworld.net/bbs/board.php?bo_table=education&wr_id=1.

⁷⁶ Sung-Deuk Oak, ed., *Sources of Korean Christianity 1832-1945* (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History, 2004), 54. I revised Dr Oak's data with small correction of list on McCormick missionaries.

Table I. Princeton Missionaries in Korea, 1885-1910⁷⁷

William B. Hunt (1869-1953)	1897-1939 ^a	Chairyong ^b	PCUSA ^c
Walter E. Smith (1874-1932)	1902-1919	Busan / Pyongyang	PCUSA
Richard. H. Sidebotham (1874-1908)	1899-1908	Daegu / Busan	PCUSA
John F. Preston (1875-1975)	1903-1946	Mokpo / Gwangju	PCUS ^d
Herbert E. Blair (1879-1945)	1904-1944	Syenchun / Daegu	PCUSA
Edwin F. McFarland (1878-1970)	1904-1928	Daegu	PCUSA
Walter C. Erdman (1877-1948)	1906-1931	Daegu / Pyongyang	PCUSA
Harry A. Rhodes (1875-1965)	1908-1946	Ganggye / Seoul	PCUSA
William M. Clark (1881-1940)	1909-1940	Jeonju / Seoul / Pyongyang	PCUS ^d
Stacy L. Roberts (1881-1946)	1907-1946	Pyongyang	PCUSA
H. Douglass McCallie (1877-1945)	1907-1930	Mokpo	PCUS ^d
James G. Holdcroft (1878-1972)	1909-1940	Pyongyang	PCUSA
John U. S. Toms (1908-1924)	1908-1924	Seoul	PCUSA
Welling T. Cook (1878-1952)	1908-1951	Syenchun / Manchuria	PCUSA
Clarence S. Hoffman	1910-1952	Ganggye / Syenchun	PCUSA

⁷⁷ This table is produced on the basis of information from following books. Oak, 54, and Kim and Park, 316 and *passim*. I corrected several errors in two books.

(1883-1978)			
Charles. L. Phillips (1885-1985)	1910-1950	Pyongyang	PCUSA

a: dates of missionary service in Korea, b: mission station mostly engaged, c: affiliated denomination, d: three Princeton alumni were affiliated to the Southern Presbyterian Church (PCUS)

The first notable reason why early Princeton missionaries did not take initiative in the Korea mission field to the extent that McCormick men did, was that Princeton alumni went to Korea later than McCormick men. The first Princeton missionary to Korea was William B. Hunt (1869-1939), who reached Korea in 1897, nine years later than Daniel Gifford (1861-1900), the first McCormick missionary. Hunt was appointed to Pyongyang to help opening work of early McCormick missionaries such as Samuel A. Moffett (1864-1939), William M. Baird (1862-1931) and Graham Lee (1861-1916). After first years in Pyongyang, he was sent to open a new station in Chaiyong, a northwestern city between Seoul and Pyongyang.⁷⁸ Major leading roles in the northwestern area centred in Pyongyang were already occupied by McCormick pioneers who planned, organised and directed everything. It seems reasonable to assume that Hunt was taught the missionary way of life in Korea by McCormick pioneers.

The second reason was that Princeton missionaries had looser connections between their seminary alumni during their early missionary service. Unlike McCormick men who were mostly concentrated in the northwestern region with tight relationship among their alumni, Princeton missionaries who were appointed to serve Koreans were thinly and widely spread. As it is revealed in the Table I, sixteen

⁷⁸ Kim and Park, 316f.

Princeton missionaries who went to Korea between 1897 and 1910 worked every mission field assigned to the PCUSA, almost evenly distributed. Most Princeton missionaries experienced their missionary life in the northwestern region including Syenchun, Ganggye and Chairyong. The most influential and largest Pyongyang station was led by early McCormick pioneers, however. Moreover, all other northwestern stations were considered branches of Pyongyang.

Many Princeton missionaries made significant contributions to the church growth of southeastern area such as Daegu, Andong and Busan⁷⁹. Nevertheless, the southeastern region, which was far from Seoul, the capital city, and Pyongyang, the rising capital of Christianity, was a relatively less important and isolated frontier for the Northern Presbyterian mission. One more notable feature in the table was the presence of three Southern Presbyterian missionaries, graduated from Princeton. Because they belonged to the PCUS mission, even though they graduated from Princeton, John F. Preston, William M. Clark, and H. Douglass McCallie spend most of their missionary life in the southwestern region of Mokpo, Gwangju and Jeonju, the agreed PCUS mission field. In other words, early Princeton missionaries had relatively less tight connection in Korea mission field among alumni, in respects of both geography and cooperation. To a considerable extent, their dispersed and fractured nature lost them influence in the early development of Korean Presbyterianism.

⁷⁹ Busan station and other near far south-eastern region were transferred to Australian Presbyterian mission board after 1892. Australian Presbyterians started their mission in Korea in 1889 with the arrival of J. Henry Davies (1857-1890). L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, fourth edition (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1987), 186f.

While ministering initially and mostly in the northwestern providences around the ancient capital city of Pyongyang since 1890, early Presbyterian missionaries from McCormick planted churches, established liberal art schools and hospitals, and opened the first Presbyterian seminary—Pyongyang Theological Seminary. Above all, they caused Pyongyang to be called “Jerusalem in Korea” through their influential ministries and especially, the great revivals of 1903-1908— an epochal event that determined the prosperity and character of future Korean Christianity. Who were McCormick missionaries; what led them to come to “the Hermit Kingdom”; what did they believe; and what did help them to establish a unique form of Presbyterian Church in Korea?

1. Early McCormick Missionaries: Their Profiles in Brief

With the arrivals of Horace N. Allen, a Presbyterian medical missionary and Horace G. Underwood, a Presbyterian pastor, the mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (the Northern Presbyterians) to Korea began in 1884-1885. Not long after the arrival of Underwood, he baptized twenty-three Koreans in the Abrok (or Yalu) River, a border between Korea and China. It meant that, even before the official activity by the first American missionaries, there were confessional Protestants in Korea. Indeed, Koreans already contacted with the Protestant messages through the pieces of the Scripture distributed by the first Presbyterians who lived in Manchuria, far northeastern region of China. John Ross and John McIntyre, Scottish Presbyterian missionaries located in Manchuria, gave

baptism to the first Korean merchant converts in Manchuria in 1876.⁸⁰ Underwood had graduated from New Brunswick Seminary in New Jersey, affiliated to the (Dutch) Reformed Church of America and was ordained by the denomination in 1884. But he was commissioned as a missionary by the PCUSA board of foreign missions. He and his early associates worked mostly in Seoul and strengthened the base for the missionary task, though they often itinerated to several regions to preach the gospel.

According to data which Robert Culver McCaughey displayed in his 1940 thesis on the literary output of McCormick alumni in Korea, for fifty-one years from 1888 to 1939, twenty-two McCormick alumni served in Korea as missionaries. McCaughey divided fifty-one years into three seventeen year period “for clarity and convenience.”⁸¹ The details are given in Table II.

Table II. McCormick Missionaries in Korea, 1888-1939⁸²

1 st Period / 1888-1905				
15 men	Daniel L. Gifford (1861-1900)	1888 ^a	1888-1900 ^b	Seoul ^c
	Samuel A. Moffett (1864-1939)	1888	1890-1936	Pyongyang
	William M. Baird (1862-1931)	1888	1891-1931	Pyongyang

⁸⁰ Harry A. Rhodes, ed., *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934* (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934), 73. The beginning of the Presbyterian mission in Korea was the same with the start of the Protestant mission.

⁸¹ Though he used three periods for clarity and convenience, his division is appropriate when we consider each generation of missionaries and the extent of their influences. That is, first generation of McCormick missionaries was much more outstanding both in number and in power than the sum of another two missionary generations.

⁸² This table is produced on the basis of information from following books. Robert Culver McCaughey, "A Survey of the Literary Output of McCormick Alumni in Chosen," (B.D. thesis, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, 1940), 29ff ; *General Catalogue*, 151 and *passim* ; and Kim and Park, 264 and *passim*.

	Graham Lee (1861-1916)	1892	1892-1912	Pyongyang
	Samuel F. Moore (1860-1906)	1892	1892-1906	Seoul
	William L. Swallen (1859-1954)	1892	1892-1939	Pyongyang
	James E. Adams (1867-1929)	1894	1895-1923	Daegu(Taiku)
	Charles E. Sharp ⁸³ (1870-1952)	1895	1900-1921	Chairyong
	Cyril Ross (1867-1963)	1897	1897-1937	Syenchun
	C. F. Bernheisel (1874-1958)	1900	1900-1940	Pyongyang
	William N. Blair (1876-1970)	1901	1901-1947	Pyongyang
	William M. Barrett (1871-1956)	1901	1901-1907	Daegu(Taiku)
	Charles A. Clark (1878-1961)	1902	1902-1941	Pyongyang
	Alexander Alb. Pieters (1871-1958)	1902	1904-1941	Seoul
	Carl E. Kearns (1876-1953)	1902	1902-1907	Syenchun
2 nd Period / 1905-1922				
4 men	Rodger E. Winn (1882-1922)	1909	1909-1922	Andong
	Roscoe C. Coen (1888-1986)	1918	1918-1948	Seoul

⁸³ I added Charles E. Sharp, class of 1895, whom McCaughey omitted from his list.

	Edward Adams (1895-1965)	1921	1921-1963	Daegu(Taiku)
	William M. Baird, Jr. (1897- ?)	1922, Princeton ^d	1923-1940	Chairyong/ Pyongyang
3 rd Period / 1922-1939				
3 men	Benjamin N. Adams (1898-1995)	1923	1923-1930	Andong
	William B. Lyon (1897-1994)	1930	1923-1953	Daegu(Taiku)
	Allen D. Clark (1908-1990)	1933, Princeton ^d	1934-1973	Chungju/ Seoul

a: class, b: dates of missionary service in Korea, c: mission station mostly engaged,
d: William Baird, Jr. and Allen D. Clark transferred to Princeton and graduated from it.

The most remarkable characteristic which is easily grasped in the table is the strong presence of the first generation McCormick alumni in the Korea mission field. There were fifteen first generation McCormick missionaries to Korea during the first seventeen years which was more than twice as many as the sum of the second- and third periods lasting thirty-four years. These first pioneering missionaries planted new stations like Pyongyang and Daegu, which were once not opened to any foreigner, as well as supported senior missionaries such as Allen and Underwood in Seoul. Unlike the missionaries of the second and third generations who arrived in Korea without their colleagues or graduates in the same class, many McCormick missionaries of that first crucial seventeen years were accompanied to Korea by their close friends who had studied and lived together in the same school for several years. Three mates of the 1888 class, three of the 1892 class, two of the 1901 class, and three of the 1902 class rowed in one boat with strong fellow feeling. Even where they were not the graduates in the same class, they could enjoy their fellowship and

comradeship in the same school and local churches. Indeed, except for Daniel L. Gifford who sailed to Korea two years earlier than his classmates, Samuel A. Moffett and William M. Baird, graduates of the 1888 class, planted Pyongyang station together in 1890 and worked together there until their retirement and death, in respectively 1934 and 1931. Mates of the 1892 class also were allocated in Pyongyang while, one of them, Samuel Moore, had a special pastoral ministry in Seoul among butchers, members of the lowest class in pre-modern Korea.

Even when two or three classmates were divided among other stations, the division itself often meant a significant strategic disposition for the development of the Northern Presbyterian missions in Korea. For example, William M. Barrett of the 1901 class joined James E. Adams of the 1894 class in order to support Adams' pioneering work in Daegu. With the exception of a converted Russian Jew, Alexander Pieters, in Seoul, two classmates of the 1902 class also were allotted to the adjacent stations of Pyongyang and Syenchun, two cities of the northwestern province.

It is also notable that there were four sons of early missionaries among seven second- and third generation McCormick missionaries. Two of them, William M. Baird, Jr. and Allen D. Clark transferred during their theological studies from McCormick to Princeton in 1921 and in 1932. This could imply that the recruitment of missionaries from McCormick alumni in the turn of the twentieth century did not go as smoothly as before. Indeed, it was Princeton Alumni and then Korean native leaders that took the initiatives in the human resources and broad leadership from the 1920s onward, except for the northwestern mission field, in which McCormick men still were paramount until the end of 1930s.

McCaughey proposed two reasons why McCormick missionaries had a decline in mission appointment after the first period of its alumni. One reason was owing to the “principle of ‘Devolution’ practiced in the Korea mission.” He explains this by quoting Rhodes: “... devolution has begun. In fact in the evangelistic work, it has been accomplished. Almost the entire support and control of the Church and its work, has been in the hands of the Koreans since 1912..... The presence and help of the missionaries are desired and necessary as co-workers and advisers....”⁸⁴ One other testimony is from George Paik, the first Korean church historian. According to Paik, “... there were reported about 600 missionaries in 1925, whereas there were only 462 in 1938. This decline has been due both to an increase of the Korean ministers, and to conditions in the home base such as the world-wide financial depression, theological disagreements, and apparent relaxation of missionary interest.”⁸⁵ That is, the increase of indigenous leadership in Korea and economic crisis, serious theological conflict between liberals and conservatives (which we have already come across in the Old/New School tension back in America, and the decrease of missionary impulse in America were major reasons why missionary recruitment in the US were weakened and declined.

The most likely reason why Princeton missionaries’ leadership swiftly replaced that of McCormick alumni was that McCormick Seminary advanced into the liberal theological position faster than Princeton Seminary, as was shown in the cases that two second generation missionaries transferred from McCormick to Princeton

⁸⁴ Rhodes, 532.

⁸⁵ George L. Paik, “Korea,” *Interpretive Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church*, Joseph I. Parker, ed. (New York: International Missionary Council, 1938), 274.

respectively in 1921 and 1923. In other words, McCormick seminary lost its missionary zeal more rapidly than Princeton Seminary.⁸⁶

Finally, it is essential to acknowledge again the fact that Pyongyang station was mostly dominated by the first generation McCormick alumni. On the one hand, being first, it had been established by the first McCormick pioneers, and on the other hand, it resulted in the consequence of making Pyongyang the centre of Korean Protestantism which was more characteristically conspicuous than other Presbyterian stations.

The first three McCormick Presbyterian missionaries were Daniel Lyman Gifford (1861-1900), Samuel A. Moffett (1864-1939) and William M. Baird (1862-1931) who all graduated in 1888 and arrived in Korea in 1888 for the former and 1890 for the two latter. Gifford sailed to Korea in 1888 two years earlier than his colleagues, but from the first time, his health was not good. He returned to his home country owing to his health problem in 1896, and then resumed his missionary service in 1898. Just two years later, however, both he and his wife died of sickness during their itinerant evangelism in the southwestern region of Korea.⁸⁷

Moffett, regarded as “the most outstanding and colourful missionary to Chosen from the seminary,” after his three-year missionary work in Incheon and Seoul, moved to Pyongyang, the centre and the biggest city of northwestern Korea, and established a Presbyterian mission station there in 1893. With his shift, the northern

⁸⁶ Lefferts A. Loetscher, *The Broadening Church: A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church Since 1869* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), 74-82 and Bradley J. Longfield, *The Presbyterian Controversy: Fundamentalists, Modernists, and Moderates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 162-180.

⁸⁷ McCaughey, 31f ; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 151; and Kim and Park, 264f.

region of Korea, which had been isolated from central culture and economy for approximately five hundred years rule by the Chosen Dynasty,⁸⁸ was connected with the totally new innovative stream and responded to it positively. During his forty-three years in Pyongyang from 1893 to 1936, Moffett served as pastor of the Central and Fifth Presbyterian Churches from 1893 to 1925. He started the Presbyterian Seminary of Korea with two students in his room in 1901 and it produced first seven graduates in 1907. In the same year, the Korean Presbyterian Church was officially organized, electing Moffett as the first moderator. He was president of the Pyongyang Seminary for seventeen years, one of the faculty members until his retirement in 1934, and president of the Union Christian College (Soongsil College) from 1918 to 1928. Moffett participated in the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh in 1910 and the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1928. He stayed more two years in Korea after his retirement until he was forced to leave Korea by the Japanese imperial government.⁸⁹

The third McCormick man of the 1888 class to Korea was William M. Baird. Baird. Like Moffett, he was born in Indiana, attended Hanover College in Indiana at the almost same period, and finally met Moffett at the same class of McCormick.⁹⁰ Even though obvious evidence of their longstanding fellowship from their early ages have not been found, given the similarity in their religious, social, educational and

⁸⁸ The Chosen Dynasty ruled Korea under the strong Confucian political and moral system between 1392 and 1910. This dynasty is often expressed and transliterated Yi, Yee or Lee Dynasty in the name of ruling family.

⁸⁹ McCaughey, 32f, 34; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 153; Kim and Park, 386; and Alan Neely, "Samuel Austin Moffett," in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), 465.

⁹⁰ Moffett was born at Madison, Indiana in 1864 and graduated from Hanover in 1884. Baird was born at Charleston, Indiana in 1862 and graduated from Hanover in 1885.

local backgrounds, we may perhaps assure that they were closely united throughout their life. After six years of opening new stations in Busan and Daegu, in 1897 Baird joined Moffett in Pyongyang where he spent the rest of his life. Beginning a school for boys that would be developed to the Union Christian College in 1906, he committed himself mostly to the educational ministry. He was president of the college between 1906 and 1916 and professor of the Pyongyang Seminary. While serving as the editor of “the Presbyterian Theological Review” and a member of Board of Translators of Bible Committee in Pyongyang for thirty-four year, he was a prolific writer with forty-five books: nine books, booklets and tracts in Korean; twenty-six books translated into Korean; four outlines of Bible translations in Korean; and six articles in English.⁹¹

After Gifford, Moffett and Baird, from 1892 to 1904, eleven more McCormick Presbyterian missionaries sailed to Korea. Seven of the eleven McCormick missionaries in this period were actively engaged in northwestern regions such as Pyongyang and Syenchun. These stations were assigned to the PCUSA mission under the comity agreement of 1892 between Presbyterians and Methodists.⁹² Graham Lee and William L. Swallen of the 1892 class, as important as the first three McCormick alumni, made a valuable contribution to the formation of the Protestant culture in Korean northwestern area. Lee returned to his country in 1912 due to unexpected health problems. During his service in Pyongyang between 1895 and

⁹¹ McCaughey, 34f, 56ff; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 149; Kim and Park, 151f; and Horace G. Underwood, “William M. Baird,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian*, 40.

⁹² For the details of the comity and cooperation of the Protestant mission in Korea, see Harry A. Rhodes and Richard H. Baird, ed. *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church USA* (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934), 93-97. For map of missions of the denominational allocated regions in Korea, see the first page in Rhodes’ book.

1912, however, as one of the two professors with Moffett, he trained the Korean pastors at Pyongyang Seminary (1901-1909) and was involved in the revivals, 1903-1909 as pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church (Jangdaehyun Church), which was initially established by Moffett in 1893. When the churches in Pyongyang grew remarkably due to the revivals and following evangelistic movement, Pyongyang was called “Jerusalem of Korea” in the 1920s.⁹³ He also deserves to be remembered as a spiritual mentor and co-worker of the Rev. Seonju Gil⁹⁴, who played a leading role in the nationwide expansion of revivals as one of the first Korean Presbyterian pastors and of the most powerful preachers and revivalists in Korean Church history.⁹⁵

William Swallen, who arrived in Korea in November 1892, was initially responsible for planting a station in the northwest provinces with Moffett and Lee. His major missionary task in Pyongyang was to administer schools. Almost every Presbyterian educational program from orphanages to colleges in the Korea mission field was an indirect and supplementary means to affect the major aim of evangelism. Swallen opened Pyongyang Seminary with Moffett and Baird, served as professor in the seminary, and assumed responsibility for a distance learning program of Bible study and theology for lay leaders until his retirement in 1932. Even after retirement, he remained in Korea to take part in Bible translation until

⁹³ Charles Allen Clark, “Home Letter: Twenty Years and All’s Well,” 7 July 1992, Special Collection of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

⁹⁴ Seonju Gil is transliterated as Sunju Gil, Sunjoo Gil, Seonjoo Gil, Sunchu Kil, Seonju Kil, etc. “It is estimated that Rev. Gil delivered more than 17,000 sermons, and that his sermons were heard by over 380,000 people. He planted churches in some 60 locations.... More than 3,000 converts were baptized by Rev. Gil, and the total number of people who were converted to Christianity under his evangelization surpassed 70,000..... Gil was one of 33 signers of Korea’s Independence Declaration.” Seonju Gil, *Essential Writings* (Seoul: The Korea Institute for Advanced Theological Studies Press, 2008), 14.

1939. Over 17,000 registered in his distance program and about 8,000 graduated from the program.⁹⁶

The rush of McCormick graduates to Korea was conspicuous between 1888 and 1902. Though massive numbers did not sail to Korea at once, two or three colleagues from McCormick at one time regularly settled in this small far-east country. Even when lone workers such as James Adams in 1894, Charles Sharp in 1895, Cyril Ross in 1897 and C. F. Bernheisel in 1900 sailed to Korea without colleagues, they soon linked up with their senior colleagues in Pyongyang and Syenchun. They did not need to wait for over three years to see their McCormick colleagues.⁹⁷

Though he did not in service with Pyongyang station, James E. Adams, the travelling secretary of the Inter seminary Missionary Alliance, 1894-1895, the SVM related organization, was a pioneer of the southeast region centred in Daegu, another PCUSA mission station. Charles Sharp of the 1895 class was also a pioneer missionary of Chairyong, an important station between Seoul and Pyongyang, from 1907, as Adams was in Daegu. He sometimes instructed students at Pyongyang Seminary.⁹⁸ Cyril Ross, who reached Korea in 1897, was one of few McCormick missionaries to Korea who were not born and brought up in the American Midwest. He was born in Peebles, near Edinburgh, Scotland and migrated with his parents to the United States. After graduating from Williams College, Massachusetts, which also left its great mark on mission history, he attended McCormick Seminary and

⁹⁵ McCaughey, 35f; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 181f; and Kim and Park, 344f.

⁹⁶ McCaughey, 37; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 184; and Kim and Park, 486f.

⁹⁷ See the Table II. The longest period between the arrival of one McCormick missionary and the next was three years, as between Swallen and Adams, and between Ross and Bernheisel.

⁹⁸ *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 209; and Kim and Park, 464.

graduated from it in 1897. He spent his first four years in Busan, the far-southeastern harbour city, in order to strengthen the weak station. When the station was handed over to the Australian Presbyterian mission from 1899, Ross moved to Syenchun, 110 miles far from Pyongyang in the northwest, in 1902, and led an active evangelistic and educational life until his retirement in 1937 as a teacher in the Bible Institute. Ross, with his junior colleague Carl Kearns of the 1902 class, made Syenchun the most powerful mission station after Pyongyang during his ministry.⁹⁹ It was Syenchun which experienced the most dramatic growth during the revivals of 1903-1906.¹⁰⁰

Charles F. Bernheisel of the 1900 class, like Cyril Ross, also reached Korea alone without his mate in the same class. But his appointed field was Pyongyang in which many of his ideas and views in theology and practice could be shared easily by his alumni. His most significant career was that in 1905, he became the first pastor of East Gate Presbyterian Church (Sanjeonghyun Church)¹⁰¹ from which the most influential Korean leaders were produced until its occupation and closing by communists in 1950.¹⁰² From 1912 to 1928 he was professor of Pyongyang Seminary

⁹⁹ McCaughey, 38f; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 232; and Kim and Park, 447f.

¹⁰⁰ 677 baptized Presbyterian members in Syenchun station in 1902 increased to 3,121 in 1906, and total number of registered members amounted to 11,943 in 1906 from 3,429 in 1903. See Yong Kyu Park, *Pyongyang Daebuheungundong* [The Great Revival in Korea: Its History, Character and Impact, 1901-1910], 2nd Edition (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 2007), 169.

¹⁰¹ As a fruitful result of the “remarkable progress” in Pyongyang and near areas, the Central Church established in 1893 firstly in Pyongyang needed to expand to several branch churches. Accordingly, North Gate Church (Sachanggol Church) in December 1905 in the hands of William N. Blair and East Gate Church (Sanjeonghyun Church) in charge of C. F. Bernheisel in January 1906 were founded, with the earlier establishment of South Gate Church (Nammunbak Church) in 1903. *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA*, 1906, 28f.

¹⁰² Rev. Gyuchan Kang, a leader of the independent movement of March 1st 1919, Rev. Changgeun Song, one of the early leaders of theological modernism, Elder Mansik Cho, a leader of national independent and educational movement, and Rev. Kichul Chu, a martyr against Japanese Shinto shrine worship were major figures. For more details on the history of Sanjeonghyun Church, see Yong

and Union Christian College, chairman of the Pyongyang mission station, and chairman of the Federal Council of Missions in Korea¹⁰³ between 1914 and 1924. Before his deportation by the Japanese government in 1940, Bernheisel was president of Pyongyang Seminary in 1928-1929 and 1935-1936, when the school suffered severely from Japanese oppression against the Christian schools and the enforcement of Shinto worship.¹⁰⁴

In 1901, two McCormick graduates in the same class resumed to sail to Korea together. William Newton Blair and William Marshall Barrett of the 1901 class received their appointments from the PCUSA foreign mission board in March 1901 and sailed to Korea in August the same year, Blair to Pyongyang and Barrett to Daegu. Six years later Barrett returned to his home country on account of his poor health. But he estimated one thousand Koreans had agreed to be Christians during his mission years in Korea.¹⁰⁵

Blair in Pyongyang left a more longstanding testimony for future generations. His books on “the Korean Pentecost” and its succeeding events were decisive accounts on the spot by an eyewitness. While experiencing and taking part in the

Kyu Park, *Pyongyang Sanjeonghyun Gyohoi* [Pyongyang Sanjeonghyun Church] (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 2006).

¹⁰³ In September 15, 1905, 150 missionaries from four Presbyterians missions and two Methodist missions organized the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea by a unanimous vote. This organization showed the representative feature of the early Protestant missionaries to Korea. That is, they were evangelicals with ecumenical spirit to be united with other denominations in order to establish a united Evangelical Church in entire Korea ultimately. “Missionary Union in Korea,” *The Korea Review* (September 1905), 342ff.; Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity: The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, A.D. 1800-1914*, Vol. VI (New York: Harper & Low, 1944), 429. Because this ultimate purpose was not achieved, however, “in 1912 the Federal Council of Missions was formed, including representatives of the Young Men’s Christian Association and the Bible Societies.” T. Stanley Soltau, *Korea: The Hermit Nation and its Response to Christianity* (London: World Dominion Press, 1932), 58.

¹⁰⁴ McCaughey, 39f; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 250; and Kim and Park, 164.

¹⁰⁵ McCaughey, 40f; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 258; and Kim and Park, 157.

wave of revival which was sweeping the Korean peninsula during first seven years of his missionary work, he placed it on record. It was published in a book *The Korean Pentecost and Other Experiences on the Mission Field* in 1910.¹⁰⁶ According to Bruce Hunt, a Presbyterian missionary to Korea who wrote an extended and revised account of Blair's book on the "Korean Pentecost" in 1977, William N. Blair "was one of the evening speakers at the Bible Conference where it broke." Only two of missionaries, Lee and Blair, were present at the meeting at the beginning of the Pyongyang revival of 1907.¹⁰⁷ Blair's eyewitness account of the revival and the changed life of Korean Christians appeared in his book *Gold in Korea*, a record of reminiscence on his forty-one years' life and work in Korea.¹⁰⁸

Three graduates of the 1902 class left their marks on Korean church history, in each clear but different way. Alexander Albertus Pieters was originally born of Jewish lineage in Russia in 1881. After changing his name to "that of the name who won him to Jesus Christ" in 1895, Pieters entered Korea as a bookkeeper and colporteur with Henry Loomis (1839-1920) of the American Bible Society. Thanks to his brilliant Hebrew language skill, from the beginning he was involved in the Old Testament translation. After graduating from McCormick Seminary, he had worked in the Philippines for two years and transferred to Korea to complete the full translation of entire Old Testament in 1910. Until his completion of the Old Testament revision in 1937 and retirement in 1941, Pieters wholly committed

¹⁰⁶ William N. Blair, *The Korean Pentecost and Other Experiences on the Mission Field* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, USA, 1910).

¹⁰⁷ William Blair and Bruce Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering Which Followed* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1977), 8.

¹⁰⁸ William N. Blair, *Gold in Korea* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, USA, 1946). Cf. McCaughey, 40; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 258; and Kim and Park, 171.

himself to Bible translation, mostly in Seoul.¹⁰⁹ He did not work in Pyongyang with his alumni owing to his particular missionary task and probably, to a less common denominator between them in terms of natural and social background. He found the most important ground in his Bible ministry for the Korean Church, renowned as “a Bible-believing and Bible-loving Church.”¹¹⁰ Carl Emerson Kearns, one of three graduates in the same class, reached in Korea with Charles Allen Clark and was appointed to work in Syenchun. In his station, in which got into the limelight as one of the prolific mission fields, Kearns baptised 660 adults and accepted about 1,000 men as catechumens¹¹¹ to the churches.¹¹²

Charles Allen Clark, the last and fifteenth figure of the first period (1888-1905) of the McCormick alumni to Korea, was one of the most significant missionaries who made great contribution to the shaping of the Korean Presbyterian Church. At his first missionary service in Seoul in 1902, Clark was appointed associate pastor of Kondangkol (later Seungdong or Seoul Central) Presbyterian Church, planted by Samuel F. Moore, McCormick graduate of the 1892 class, in 1893. Kondangkol Church was famous as the first church whose majority members were butchers, the lowest class of Korean society at that time. For twenty years as pastor of the church, Clark did his best to quell the tension between church members of Yangban, the

¹⁰⁹ McCaughey, 42f; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 271; and Kim and Park, 419f.

¹¹⁰ Charles Allen Clark, “Fifty Years of Mission Organization Principle and Practice,” in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church USA* (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934), 57. On the importance of the Bible in Korean Church, consult the discussion of ch.4.

¹¹¹ The principle of catechumenate, which has been widely recognized as expressing the rigidity in the policy of church membership in the early Presbyterian mission in Korea, was set in the 1891 Rules and By-Laws of the (PCUSA) Mission: “Except in special cases all applicants for baptism shall be put under a course of instruction for six months or more..... In 1894 the public reception of catechumens was begun, believing the opportunity to state publicly their convictions would be a help to them and to others.” Stacy L. Roberts, “Fifty Years of Christian Training in Korea,” in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission*, 105.

highest noble class, and those of butchers.¹¹³ It was through his professorship in practical theology at Pyongyang Seminary since 1908¹¹⁴ that he made an outstanding impact on the Korean Presbyterian Church. During thirty years, the quickening and foundation-laying period of Korean theology, Clark was the only professor in practical theology in the school, teaching homiletics, pastoral theology, evangelism and church polity. He was professor in longest service after Samuel A. Moffett, the founder, first President and professor. Over 1,600 ministers and lay leaders learned from Clark. His major works, such as *The Korean Church and the Nevius Method*, revised and published from his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago in 1929, and *Homiletics* and *Pastoral Theology*, textbooks written in Korean in 1925, are still published in reprinted and revised versions and used in several schools as references until today.¹¹⁵

2. McCormick Theology in the Late Nineteenth Century America

It is clear that McCormick mission workers in Korea played a key role in establishing the faith in a specific direction: pietist, revivalist, populist and activist

¹¹² McCaughey, 43f; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 269f; and Kim and Park, 328.

¹¹³ “The butchers were outcasts in Korean Society, perhaps on account of their occupation of destroying life. They were looked upon as cruel, and their knives were considered most dangerous instruments.... When the Reform Era dawned, the butchers petitioned the government for liberation and equal treatment. The petition was granted and they were given an improved social and political status.” Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, 203f.

¹¹⁴ Moore who planted the church in 1893 and served as senior pastor in the church died in 1906 during his ministry in Seoul. Clark took charge of senior pastor from 1906 to 1924. But from 1915 when the first Korean pastor Yeohan Lee took most of the church work in his hands, Clark was little involved in the ministry in Seoul. Cf. *Seungdonggyohoi Baeknyeonsa* [One Hundred History of the Seungdong Church] (Seoul: Seungdong Church, 1996), 112ff.

¹¹⁵ McCaughey, 41f; *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 269; Kim and Park, 207f; Harvie M. Conn, “Charles Allen Clark,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, 135f; and Rhodes, *History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church USA*, 87f.

ethos, and several workers, such as Moffett, Baird, Lee, Blair and Clark, influenced Korean Presbyterian theology and church practice long after their deaths. In keeping with the aim given at the start of this dissertation, to uncover the foundations for this church growth in Korea, I shall argue that two ingredients were most important, among the significant historical background on which McCormick graduates formed their theological position and attitude and decided to become missionaries to Korea. The first were the lessons by professors at McCormick Seminary which the first missionary generation to Korea attended. The second was the influence from the wider missionary movement which was sweeping throughout the USA, especially the Midwest. It is now necessary to turn our attention to these points.

The Midwest including Chicago was settled by people from New England and New York in the early nineteenth century, before German and Scandinavian Lutherans and Polish and Baltic Catholics immigrated to this area after the middle of the century. As a result, this area was dominantly populated by revival-oriented New School type of Presbyterians. McCormick seminary, which had been born in the New School background, closed its door owing to the national financial crisis of 1857. Cyrus H. McCormick, the inventor of mechanical reaper and a rich and conservative Presbyterian, expected that “if it could be located in Chicago it might be just the instrument for strengthening Old School Presbyterianism in the Northwest and for checking the rapid rise of antislavery sentiment in the region.” He donated \$100,000 for four professorships of Old School persuasion to the seminary when it reopened in 1859.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Loetscher, *The Broadening Church*, 14.

However, from 1873, when Francis L. Patton (1843-1932), Old School theologian supported by McCormick and Robert W. Patterson (1814-1894), a former New School leader were appointed to the faculty, the tension between two camps in the seminary continued to increase until its decisive adoption of more progressive theological views in the late 1920s.¹¹⁷ In 1880, however, all professors except Patton were asked to resign by the school directors, Patton himself transferring to Princeton Seminary. With the reorganization of McCormick Seminary in the 1880s, the seminary entered a more complex period, with open competition between a more progressive idea and a more conservative theological outlook.¹¹⁸ Thus the period in which the first generation McCormick missionaries to Korea attended the seminary was one of the most turbulent years in seminary history.

According to the *General Catalogue, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago*, twelve theologians taught at McCormick between 1885 and 1902 when the first generation McCormick missionaries to Korea were students in the school. Among them, eight scholars regarded as weighty historical figures are on the list of *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*—Thomas H. Skinner, Willis G. Craig, David C. Marquis, Herrick Johnson, Edward Lewis Curtis, John Dewitt, Andrew C. Zenos and J. Ross Stevenson.¹¹⁹ At the time of the new reorganization of faculty in 1880s, the “conservative theological outlook was dominant in the reorganized faculty.”¹²⁰ McCormick Seminary, as others, could not

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15, 79f.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹¹⁹ Four professors excluded from the list of the *Dictionary* were Edwin Cone Bissell, Augustus Stiles Carrier, Benjamin Lewis Hobson and George L. Robinson. *General Catalogue*, 25.

¹²⁰ Loetscher, 77.

swim against the theologically “broadening” stream of the turn of the twentieth century, however.

Thomas H. Skinner (1820-1892), although he was son of one of the founders of Union Seminary in New York, the centre of New School Presbyterianism, was a firm defender of Old School Presbyterianism. Appointed by the McCormick family to be Cyrus H. McCormick professor at McCormick due to his Old School view, he relied largely on Puritan writers and was intensely interested in missions.¹²¹ Willis G. Craig (1834-1911), known as the most influential teacher on students, taught from 1882 to 1911. As “a staunch theological conservative who was committed to federal theology, plenary inspiration and strict subscription to the Westminster standards, Craig strongly opposed other faculty to introduce progressive theology at McCormick.” He was “highly respected” “for his Christian character, keen intellect, stimulating teaching and sound scholarship.”¹²² Craig, professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History (1882-1891) and Cyrus H. McCormick Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology (1891-1911),¹²³ was interested in world mission. He stimulated his students to have concern about foreign mission, particularly mission to Korea. In 1888 he himself decided to leave his teaching service in the seminary and to go to Korea for mission. He was not able to go to Korea, but he encouraged his students to volunteer for Korea. The missions of six graduates of 1888 and 1892 to Korea—Gifford, Moffett, Baird, Lee, Swallen and Moore— were directly influenced

¹²¹ K. S. Sawyer, “Thomas Harvey Skinner,” in *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 239.

¹²² G. S. Smith, “Willis Green Craig,” in *Ibid.*, 72.

¹²³ *General Catalogue, McCormick Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church 1830-1912* (Chicago: McCormick Theological Seminary, 1912), xix.

by Dr. Craig.¹²⁴ David C. Marquis (1834-1912) worked at his alma mater as professor of New Testament from 1883 to 1912, and was firm supporter of Craig in the seminary. His advocacy for traditional Christian doctrines “helped postpone until 1920s the seminary’s drift to a more liberal position.”¹²⁵

The subtle theological shift at McCormick seemed to start from Herrick Johnson (1832-1913), professor of sacred rhetoric and pastoral theology in 1883-1905. After attending Auburn Seminary, one of the leading New School institutions, he supported and succeeded two famous New School leaders of Nathaniel Beman and Albert Barnes. During his professorship at McCormick, he led the revision of the Westminster standards in 1903.¹²⁶ Edward Lewis Curtis (1853-1911), graduated from Yale, Union and Berlin in Germany, taught Old Testament from 1881, and then he left McCormick to be for the Holmes professor of Hebrew language and literature in Yale in 1891. His academic career demonstrated his scholarly excellence with his progressive spirit.¹²⁷ John Dewitt (1842-1923) seemed to be somewhat ambiguous both in his educational background and in his academic career. His father was a New School Presbyterian minister, but he studied in Princeton Seminary and was licensed by the Old School’s First Presbytery of New York. Then he studied at Union Seminary in New York and was ordained by the New School’s Third Presbytery of New York before serving three different churches including a Congregational church. Since 1882 Dewitt had been professor in Lane Seminary for six years, taught

¹²⁴ *The McCormick Daily Bulletin*, March 1939 quoted in McCaughey, 30. Unfortunately, there is no further information of reason in which Dr Craig was so concerned with Korea and he could not go to Korea.

¹²⁵ W. A. Hoffercker, “David Calhoun Marquis,” in *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 148f.

¹²⁶ Smith, “Herrick Johnson,” in *Ibid.*, 133f.

at McCormick (1882-1888) and finally served as professor at Princeton (1892-1912). In 1903, he participated in the revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith as a committee member.¹²⁸

Andrew Zenos (1855-1942) was a transitional figure who tried to shift McCormick and the Presbyterian Church to new emerging liberalism in the period of fundamentalist-modernist controversy. He graduated from Princeton under the Old School influences. While teaching at Lake Forest University (1883-1888), Hartford Seminary (1888-1891) and McCormick Seminary (1891-1934), however, “Zenos championed the autonomy of biblical theology from dogmatics.” He proposed a “plastic theology” for “liberty, open-mindedness and catholicity” and opened a way to ecumenical movement.¹²⁹ “He commanded increasing respect and confidence as the theological guide of the seminary and of its entire ecclesiastical environment.”¹³⁰ Finally, Joseph Ross Stevenson (1866-1939), more renowned as president of Princeton Seminary in tumultuous years from 1914 to 1936, taught at McCormick between 1897 and 1902. His life at McCormick was not less important than at Princeton, but during his service at Princeton, Stevenson revealed himself as “irenic” figure, who was conservative in theology but ecumenical and inclusive in communal relationship. During his presidency, Westminster Seminary was finally separated from Princeton Seminary.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Smith, “Edward Lewis Curtis,” in *Ibid.*, 74f.

¹²⁸ K. J. Ross, “John DeWitt,” in *Ibid.*, 81.

¹²⁹ Hoffecker, “Andrew Constantinides Zenos,” in *Ibid.*, 285.

¹³⁰ Loetscher, 79.

¹³¹ W. V. Trollinger, “Joseph Stevenson Ross,” in *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 252.

Tracing the history of the faculty at McCormick between 1886 and 1902 reminds us that this history should be interpreted in a broader American religious history in the turn of the twentieth century. The historical place of McCormick Seminary can be fixed properly only in the course of broad evangelical history in the nineteenth century America— the Second Great Awakening, the split and reunion between the Old School and the New School, the revivals of Charles Finney, the Civil War, the missionary movements of D. L. Moody and Arthur T. Pierson and the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. It was clear that McCormick Seminary in American history did not play as a conspicuous role in the formation of American Presbyterianism as did Princeton Seminary of the Old School or Union Seminary in New York of the New School. In many respects, McCormick Seminary appeared to have had legacies from both sides: on the one side, the seminary was located in the upper Midwest of Indiana and Illinois, a new frontier area, in which the new religious movements, New School Presbyterianism, and Finney's revivals and reforms flourished. Moody, like later Wilbur Chapman and Billy Sunday, also centred his revival and missionary work on Chicago. Intense evangelical tendency that prospered more in western regions quickened the individualistic, activist, democratic, egalitarian, and voluntary religion of emotion, experience and action.¹³² McCormick Presbyterians' intense involvement in revival and missionary movement was the most important legacy of New School Presbyterianism even though many of them hesitated to accept the revised and optimistic view of human ability.

On the other hand, officially, McCormick Seminary was an Old School institution throughout the nineteenth century. When the seminary was founded as the

¹³² Hatch, 9f.

theological department of Hanover College in Indiana in 1830, its founder, John Finley Crowe (1787-1860) had graduated from Princeton Seminary in 1816. Crowe, trained in the firm fortress of Old School Presbyterianism, believed that he himself “stood with the Old School views rather than the New.”¹³³ The time when this Old School tendency became more intensified was the year 1886 in which “Cyrus McCormick endowed McCormick Seminary as the centre of Old School theology to ensure that the tenets of the faith were correctly taught.”¹³⁴ Though the sign of shift to more liberal views by Professors John Dewitt and Andrew Zenos appeared during the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, McCormick Seminary still remained officially Old School until 1920s.¹³⁵ The fact that Willis Craig, an Old School conservative, was the most influential professor for missionary candidates at McCormick from 1886 to 1902, would be a decisive key enabling us to understand the theological position of early McCormick missionaries to Korea: the combination of the Old School’s zeal toward doctrinal purity and the New School’s revivalist energy for piety, social reform and cooperation.

The second key influence on McCormick students in 1880s and 1890s which encouraged them to become missionaries was the missionary meeting such as the Student Volunteer Movement and the religious environment of the Christian colleges in the Midwest. The motto of the SVM, which was officially organized in 1888 under the influence of Moody’s Northfield Conference in 1886, was “the

¹³³ James G. K. McClure, *The Story of the Life and Work of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary Chicago* (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1929), 19.

¹³⁴ Thekla Ellen Joiner, *Sin in the City: Chicago and Revivalism 1880-1920* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 34.

¹³⁵ Ahlstrom, 812, n7. “In 1932 Lane Seminary merged with the Old School seminary which was founded in 1829 in Chicago with endowment from Cyrus McCormick.”

evangelization of the world in this generation.” Through this slogan stressing the urgency and task of mission, the leaders of the movement like Moody, Pierson, Robert Wilder, John Mott, Samuel Zwemer and Robert Speer recruited almost half of all American foreign missionaries over about sixty years.¹³⁶ The SVM was also an important means of missionary commitment for McCormick alumni. Among seventeen McCormick missionaries¹³⁷ to Korea from 1888 to 1910, fifteen men sailed to Korea under the influence of the SVM-related meetings. About 90 percent (exactly, 88.2 percent) of the first period of missionaries to Korea came from the SVM.¹³⁸ Of the 575 male and female Protestant missionaries’ arrival in Korea from 1884 to 1910, 239 had an SVM background, after 1888 when the SVM formally began. In other words, 41.5 percent of all Protestant missionaries to Korea until 1910 came through the SVM.¹³⁹ This figure displays how McCormick missionaries were affected by the SVM meetings for their missionary commitments.

Though it can not be directly proved, Arthur T. Pierson, one of the key figures of the SVM, stimulated McCormick seminarians to prepare for mission. During his main days as a mission theorist, he was member of the Board of Directors of

¹³⁶ Paul E. Pierson, “The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions,” *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions*, A. Scott Moreau, Harold Netland and Charles Van Engen, ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 914 and Michael Parker, *Kingdom of Character: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1886-1926* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 178ff.

¹³⁷ In addition to fifteen first period of McCormick alumni to Korea between 1888 and 1905, Lewis B. Tate of the 1892, affiliated to the PCUS and Rodger E. Winn of the 1909 class, the first man of the second period were included to this calculation.

¹³⁸ This figure is from a chart of “List of Student Volunteer Missionaries to Korea, 1888-1910,” in Oak, ed., *Sources of Korean Christianity 1832-1945*, 500. Oak created his list from the incomplete data of *Reports of the Convention of the SVM*, 1891, 1906 & 1910 and *Denominational List of Volunteers*, Vol.I, Day Mission Library, Yale Divinity School.

¹³⁹ These Protestant missionaries included 276 Presbyterians, 175 Methodists, 68 Anglicans, 24 Salvation Army, 9 Baptists, 7 Adventists, 5 YMCA people, 6 British and Foreign Bible Society members, and 4 other independent missionaries. This figure is from a chart, “Protestant Missionaries Arrived in Korea, 1884-1910” in Oak’s sourcebook, 492.

(McCormick) Presbyterian Seminary in Chicago, 1871-1885. Indeed, during his fourteen years on the school board, student numbers in the school dramatically increased.¹⁴⁰ He rejected an offer to be the chair of systematic theology at McCormick, however.¹⁴¹ This even suggests that Pierson was an influential and respected figure at McCormick. Pierson's open attitude to cooperate across denominational and doctrinal boundaries for the world evangelization, as well as his piety and premillennial view of the last days, epitomized the life of McCormick Missionaries in Korea.

It is also valuable to note that many of McCormick missionaries to Korea completed their undergraduate courses in local colleges, mostly in the Midwest, affiliated to the religious foundation. Many American universities and colleges, which were established initially by Christian denominations, attempted to reach more citizens working in line with the contemporary technical and capitalist environment since the Civil War. The schools naturally lost or at least weakened the Christian tradition accordingly to which devoted Christian intellectuals should be brought up.¹⁴² However, small-scale and locally based Christian colleges sustained a religious atmosphere linked to Christian belief and practice and produced most of the foreign missionaries related to the SVM.¹⁴³ Wooster College in Ohio, attended by William Swallen, Edward Adams, William M. Baird and Benjamin N. Adams, was founded

¹⁴⁰ Students enrolled in 1871 were 7, but ones enrolled in 1885 were 45. *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 497.

¹⁴¹ Robert, *Occupy Until I Come*, 64 and *General Catalogue*, 1939 edition, 14.

¹⁴² George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3ff.

¹⁴³ Parker, 178ff.

in 1866 by the Presbyterian Church.¹⁴⁴ Hanover College in Indiana, from which three significant McCormick Alumni, Samuel A. Moffet, William M. Baird, Jr. and C. F. Bernheisel, graduated, was also established in 1827 by the PCUSA. It is essential to recognize that McCormick Seminary initially began as the theological department of Hanover College in 1829, as already mentioned.¹⁴⁵ Emporia College of William M. Barrett and Rodger E. Winn, established in 1882 in Emporia, Kansas, was also associated with the PCUSA.¹⁴⁶ Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, attended by the Clarks, was also a Presbyterian-affiliated college set up in 1853. Indeed, this college was like a preparatory school for seminary education, as shown by the fact that 128 among 203 graduates from 1853 to 1909 became local pastors and foreign missionaries.¹⁴⁷ Other schools had their Presbyterian background as well: Gifford's Alma College in Michigan, founded by Michigan Presbyterians in 1886¹⁴⁸; William Baird's Lake Forest College, established by Chicago Presbyterians in 1857¹⁴⁹; and Samuel Moore's College of Montana, affiliated to the PCUSA, founded in 1878.¹⁵⁰ Other Christian-established schools besides the Presbyterians such as (Congregational) Washburn College in Kansas and Williams College in Massachusetts and Kansas Wesleyan University, Coe College in Iowa were alma mater of McCormick missionaries to Korea. Except for Williams College, all schools

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.wooster.edu/about/history.php>.

¹⁴⁵ <http://www.hanover.edu/about/hanover/facts/>.

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.c-of-e.org/history.php>. The College of Emporia closed officially in 1973 due to falling enrolment and financial instability.

¹⁴⁷ Henry Daniel Funk, *A History of Macalester College: Its Origin, Struggle and Growth* (St. Paul: Board of Trustees of Macalester College, 1910), 284f.

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.alma.edu/about/glance>.

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.lakeforest.edu/about/history.asp>.

¹⁵⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/College_of_Montana.

were located in the Midwest. It meant that their ideas from their childhood had a good chance of continuing smoothly into their adult life with (unless they stepped out of line intentionally) little deviation.

McCormick missionaries to Korea at the turn of the twentieth century were formed from the following ingredients: Christian education at home and in the secondary and higher educational institution, a moderate seminary environment, with the Old School's doctrinal devotion and the New School's evangelistic enthusiasm amid a national mood of evangelical revival and missionary movement. The specific experience in the Midwest highlighted and intensified their theological and practical beliefs. Korea was the field where their beliefs and confidence originating from this background were applied and experimented.

IV. McCormick Theology in Korea: McCormick Missionaries and the Shaping of the Korean Presbyterian Tradition

The previous chapters have discussed the development of Presbyterianism in America during the nineteenth century, especially as it came to affect the premier mission-sending seminary of McCormick, and the importance for the Korean mission of the less strict Reformed view of human capacity and ecumenical view of interdenominational cooperation for revival and mission. McCormick missionaries attempted to transplant these views on Presbyterian theology and practices, which they had inherited from their late nineteenth century American Midwest background, to Korean soil.

The initial work of the missionaries seems to have allowed them to retain the views with which they left America: certainly the extent of change and revision of their messages was not vast. This was assisted by two points. Firstly, many missionaries found that Koreans traditionally respected the man of scholarship and learning and even worshipped scholarship itself. Early missionaries considered themselves teachers of new scholarship and civilization, and made this very clear, and the Koreans for their part also regarded the foreign missionaries as teachers.¹⁵¹ Secondly, Daniel Gifford and Samuel A. Moffett, the first two McCormick missionaries to Korea, also noticed that Koreans treat westerners with courtesy and high regard, even calling them “Tai-in” (great man).¹⁵² One consequence of this,

¹⁵¹ Dae Young Ryu, “An Odd Relationship: The State Department, Its Representatives, and American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1905,” *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 6/4 (Winter 1997): 271-277.

¹⁵² Daniel L. Gifford, *Every-Day Life in Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1898), 67 and Samuel A. Moffett, “Fifty Years of Missionary Life in Korea,” *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission*, 37.

initially at least, was that the theology and practices of the Korean Presbyterian Church reflected those of the conveyers with no challenge from local people whatsoever.

Detailed research on the McCormick missionaries' ministry in the churches, schools and seminary until 1939 has shown that the Presbyterian form, transmitted by the McCormick alumni to Korea, was an evangelical faith shaped by various American revival and missionary movements throughout the nineteenth century. As has been mentioned in the previous chapters, that form of evangelicalism was different from the narrow branch of conservatives which finally came to oppose aggressively the liberals during and after the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the 1920s-1930s. The evangelical movement "eventually was the common name for the revival movements that swept back and forth across the English-speaking world during the eighteenth and nineteenth century."¹⁵³ Protestant denominations in America were mostly evangelical in the nineteenth century, stressing the "four special marks" of conversionism (the belief that lives need to be changed), activism (the expression of the gospel in effort), biblicism (a particular regard for the Bible) and crucicentrism (a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross).¹⁵⁴ In addition to these four common marks for all evangelicals, I would suggest that following were special key characteristics for McCormick evangelical pioneers which were transmitted to the Korean Church: the ecumenical cooperation between the

¹⁵³ George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 2.

¹⁵⁴ The definition of evangelicalism in terms of four "special marks" has been accepted by the broad academic circles as the starting point in the study of the evangelical movement. Cf. David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2f.

evangelical Protestant missions; the experiential belief with the confession of sin, conversion and renewal; the rigid moral reform of Christian behaviour and daily life; the combination of theological conservatism and practical activism; and the premillennial eschatological vision. I will discuss each point in turn.

1. *Evangelical Ecumenical Religion*

McCormick missionaries were dedicated to spread the evangelical faith and practices throughout Korea, based on both the Old school tradition with its Reformed doctrinal confession and the New School legacy open to revival and cooperation. There is solid evidence that they engaged eagerly in the evangelical ecumenical movements through their diverse missionary enterprises. From the earliest mission years, Presbyterian missionaries in Korea including and led by McCormick graduates did not hesitate to regard themselves as evangelicals. When the six Protestant missions in Korea¹⁵⁵—American Northern Presbyterian, American Southern Presbyterian, American Northern Methodist, American Southern Methodist, Australian Presbyterian, and Canadian Presbyterian—agreed to establish an ecumenical body of mission in 1905, its name was the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea.

¹⁵⁵ Among seven missions which were working in Korea at that time, only the Anglican Church did not participate in the Council. But this mission was also “in sympathy with the aim and objects of the General Council.” George Herber Jones, *The Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910), 45. For more detailed discussion on the Protestant missionaries’ spirit of union in Korea, see Dae Young Ryu, *Chogi Miguk Seongyosa Yeongu* [Early American Missionaries in Korea (1884-1910): Understanding Missionaries from Their Middle-Class Background] (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History, 2001), 98-103.

Cooperation and union between Protestant missions beyond denominational lines were the key features of the nineteenth century revival and missionary movements in the English-speaking world. The aim of the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea was similar to that of the Evangelical Alliance, the model for the evangelical cooperation and union.¹⁵⁶ The eventual aim of the General Council was for “the organization of one Evangelical Church in Korea,” although the basic need of this ecumenical body was to facilitate the efficiency in the missionary work of each mission and to avoid the unnecessary tension between missions. The practical effects of this aim were the union of boys’ schools both in Seoul and Pyongyang, a hospital in Pyongyang, and the joint publications of hymns, the missionary journal *The Korea Mission Field*, and Sunday school materials.¹⁵⁷

Horace G. Underwood from New Brunswick Seminary was the first chairman of the Council, and early McCormick missionaries wished to cooperate and indeed fully supported him. For instance, William M. Baird of Pyongyang, one of the first three McCormick pioneers, was invited to give a lecture on his educational ministry at the Northern Methodist Mission Conference in 1905. This conference was held to examine the possibility of cooperation with Presbyterians by Northern Methodists who already had accomplished substantial cooperation with their Southern partners.¹⁵⁸ Samuel F. Moore, class of 1892, reported this conference and Baird’s

¹⁵⁶ The Alliance was established in 1846 in England to impede the Catholic expansion and to strengthen the mutual cooperation between Protestant denominations: it finally attracted representatives from fifty denominations in Europe and the US. Philip Schaff and David S. Schaff, ed. *The Creeds of Christendom with a History and Critical Notes*, Vol.III (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 827.

¹⁵⁷ Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, 381f.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 378f.

address at it as “an epoch-making conference in Korea.”¹⁵⁹ Many letters sent by McCormick alumni such as Carl Kearns, C. F. Bernheisel, William Swallen and William Baird to Arthur J. Brown of the Presbyterian mission board in New York, during this period urged the board to allow its Korea mission to cooperate with Korea Methodist missions.¹⁶⁰ Baird, later in 1909, estimated the effort for the union in 1905 positively as follows.

This talk also doubtless had its genesis partly in the fact that many of the missionary workers were that year (1905) brought into close and systematic intercourse in a summer Bible Conference, at which they learned to know and appreciate each other at their true value, without thought of denominational distinctions.¹⁶¹

William Swallen, chairman of the union committee in 1907, claimed with fervour that there was “no difficulty in the way of harmonizing the doctrines of the Methodist and the Presbyterian Church in Korea.”¹⁶² It is clear that their initial ecumenical effort was extraordinary, although eventually the aim of building one evangelical Church in Korea did not succeed, because “each mission reinforced its work and established its own necessary institutions at central points,” as its missionary work continues to succeed.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Samuel F. Moore, “An Epoch-Making Conference in Korea,” *The Missionary Review of the World*, 18:9 (September 1905): 689-692.

¹⁶⁰ C. F. Bernheisel to Brown, June 29, 1905; C. E. Kearns to Brown, July 5, 1905; W. M. Baird to Brown, September 15, 1905 and W. L. Swallen to Brown, October 10, 1905. All are in the PCUSA Missions Correspondence and Reports, Microfilm Series, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

¹⁶¹ William M. Baird, “History of the Educational Work,” *Quarto Centennial Papers, read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA* (1909), 68.

¹⁶² *Annual Minutes of the General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea*, 1907, 25, quoted in Harvie M. Conn, “Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church: An Historical Outline,” Part I. Conservative Theology in the Korean Church to 1938, *Westminster Theological Journal* (May 1967): 49.

¹⁶³ Paik, 382. It is worth noting that the early and very uncertain years of Protestant mission to Japan saw similar close cooperation between otherwise rival churches: the freedom of worship act of 1874

McCormick missionaries' interest in cooperation was also made clear during the revivals of 1905-1907, which were both evangelical and ecumenical events. The very first decision by the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea was that every church in Korea would undertake a revival movement in the first month of the lunar calendar every year. It was in the two major mission fields, Seoul and Wonsan, that the united revival meetings were held the next New Year, following the terms of the Council resolution. In Seoul, Northern and Southern Methodists joined with Northern Presbyterians to lead to a revival campaign.¹⁶⁴ The united missions in Wonsan were the Methodist Episcopal mission, South (American Southern Methodist) and the Canadian Presbyterian mission.¹⁶⁵

Pyongyang, however, stood out from that trend, each mission of the Northern Presbyterians and the Northern Methodists having its New Year conference for Koreans separately. The revival meeting for missionaries in Pyongyang was held jointly in August 26 – September 2, 1906 for both missions, which turned out to be a preparatory event for the future epoch-making awakening in Pyongyang. The main speaker was Robert Alexander Hardie (1865-1949), a Canadian medical missionary affiliated to the Southern Methodist mission who mostly worked in Wonsan. As early as 1903, four years earlier than the 1907 Pyongyang revival, until 1906, there had been a big wave of revival in Wonsan, which was largely attributed to Hardie. The 1903 Wonsan revival took off dramatically with Hardie's public confession of failure

there, growing individual success, saw such effective unions collapse. See Otis Cary, *History of Christianity in Japan*, Vol.II (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1909), 78f.

¹⁶⁴ Samuel F. Moore, "The Revival in Seoul," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1906): 115f.

¹⁶⁵ Jaemyeong Cha, ed., *Chosun Yesugyo Jangrohoi Sagi, Sanggwon* [A History of the Presbyterian Church in Korea] Vol.I. (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History, 2005), 179f. This book was originally published by the Christian Changmun Press in Seoul in 1928.

in his ministry—his “pride, hardness of heart, and lack of faith.”¹⁶⁶ Indeed, today’s historians, as well as his contemporary missionaries, recognize that the Pyongyang revival of 1907 originated in the 1903 Wonsan revival.¹⁶⁷

Northern Presbyterian missionaries were especially affected by Hardie’s visitation to Pyongyang in 1906. Many of them were McCormick graduates who worked predominantly in Pyongyang and made Pyongyang the centre of Korean Christianity. Bernheisel recorded in his diary that it was great blessing for them.¹⁶⁸ Swallen also reported to Arthur J. Brown in New York that amazing grace was present among missionaries at the deeply spiritual Bible conference in August.¹⁶⁹ Two McCormick missionaries who were most influenced by Hardie’s conference were Graham Lee and William N. Blair. These two missionaries came to have the earnest wish to see revivals in their mission field as well. Indeed, Blair confessed as follows: “Before the meetings closed the Spirit showed us plainly that the way of victory for us would be a way of confession, of broken hearts and bitter tears. We went out of those August meetings realizing as never before that nothing but the baptism of God’s Spirit in mighty power could fit us and our Korean brethren for the trying days ahead.”¹⁷⁰ Graham Lee added one more factor which led Presbyterian missionaries in Pyongyang to have a great desire in their hearts to have a special

¹⁶⁶ *Annual Report of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1905, 39f, quoted in Paik, 368. .

¹⁶⁷ Paik, 367; “The Religious Awakening of Korea,” *The Korea Mission Field* (July 1908): 105; Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918), 224. “In the latter part of 1903, a remarkable revival began in Wonsan. The writer has always believed that this was the first of a wonderful shower of blessings which some three years later fell upon the whole native church of Korea.”

¹⁶⁸ The Rev. Charles F. Bernheisel’s *Missionary Diary*, unpublished, March, 1907, quoted in Yong Kyu Park, *Pyongyang Daebuheungundong*, 193.

¹⁶⁹ William L. Swallen, Letter to Dr. Brown, January 18, 1907, quoted in Yong Kyu Park, 193.

¹⁷⁰ Blair and Hunt, 66.

spiritual blessing—news of revival in India from Howard Agnew Johnston:¹⁷¹ “At that meeting was born the desire in our hearts that God’s Spirit would take complete control of our lives and use us mightily in His Service.... Dr Johnson came to Pyeng Yang and while here spoke to our Korean Christians, telling of the wonderful manifestations of the Spirit in India, and his telling of it gave some of our people a great desire to have the same blessing.”¹⁷²

McCormick missionaries, stimulated by the Methodist Hardie, were the main figures on the scenes of revival movement immediately after the Bible conference of 1906. They spoke at the revival meetings beyond denominational borders throughout the country, the leading speakers being Lee and Blair. Northern Methodists in Yeongbyeon, a Methodist district, which was surrounded by the northwestern region of the PCUSA, invited Blair to speak in their Bible meetings in November, 1906.¹⁷³ Between January 2-15 1907, the Winter Bible Training class for men which was the starting point of 1907 Pyongyang revival, was held in the Central Presbyterian Church in Pyongyang. The church’s pastoral leaders were Graham Lee, the senior pastor, and Seonju Gil, an assistant pastor.¹⁷⁴ Lee, a spiritual mentor of Gil, and Gil

¹⁷¹ Howard Agnew Johnston (1860-1936) was a committee member in the PCUSA foreign mission board, who graduated from Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, a New School institution, and did his pastoral service in Cincinnati, Chicago and New York. He was visiting the mission fields in Asia after his resignation from the church work.

¹⁷² Graham Lee, “How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang,” *The Korea Mission Field* 3 (March, 1907): 33-37, in *Primary Sources of the Korean Revival 1903-1908*, ed. Sung-Deuk Oak (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2007), 346-350.

¹⁷³ C. D. Morris, “Report of Yeng Byen District,” *Official Minutes and Reports of the Annual Session of Korea Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1907), 65, quoted in Deok-Joo Rhie, *Hanguk Tochakgyohoi Hyeongseongsa Yeongu* [A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea, 1903-1907] (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History, 2001), 127.

¹⁷⁴ “In 1898, at the age of 30 Gil Seon Ju became the *yeongsu* (a leadership position in a church not yet officially institutionalized) of the Central Presbyterian Church... In 1901, he was elected as an elder of the church... In 1903, Gil was appointed assistant pastor... In the same year he enrolled in the Pyongyang Presbyterian Seminary and in 1907 became one among seven of Korea’s first seminary

were co-workers and congenial friends in Christian life and ministry. At the morning and afternoon sessions of the Bible conference, about 1,000 male local church leaders attended from about 400 Presbyterian churches.¹⁷⁵ More than 2,000 men gathered every evening at the evening revival meetings where ordinary church members in Pyongyang were allowed to attend. Sermons at each evening meeting were delivered by McCormick missionaries such as Lee, Swallen, Blair and Bernheisel, and William Hunt, a Princeton missionary, and Sunjoo Gil, a Korean pastor.¹⁷⁶

It was at the evening meeting in January 14, the thirteenth day of the conference that the unusual work of revival appeared in the conference. Graham Lee witnessed what he experienced at the meeting:

When we reached the building I think we all felt that something was coming. After a short address we had audible prayer together, all the audience joining in, and this audible prayer, by the way, has been one of the features of these meetings.... After prayer, confessions were called for, and immediately the Spirit of God seemed to descend on that audience. Man after man would rise, confess his sins, break down and weep, and then throw himself to the floor and beat the floor with his fists in a perfect agony of conviction. My own cook tried to make a confession, broke down in the midst of it, and cried to me across the room, "Pastor tell me, is there any hope for me, can I be forgiven?, and then he threw himself to the floor and wept and wept, and almost screamed in agony.... And so meeting went on until two o'clock A.M. with confession and weeping and praying.¹⁷⁷

The phenomenon of confession and weeping with audible praying became a characteristic ingredient of the Korean Protestant revival movement from the 1907

graduates. In September of 1907... Gil was ordained and was appointed senior pastor of the church the following month." Introduction by Min Kyong-Bae, in Seonju Gil, *Essential Writings*, 14.

¹⁷⁵ Lee, "How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang," 33.

¹⁷⁶ George S. McCune, "The Holy Spirit in Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Mission Field* (January 1907): 1f.

¹⁷⁷ Lee, 34f.

revival onward. Although Lee himself did not mention asking audiences to pray with a high voice, Blair recorded that this prayer was firstly practised by Korean Presbyterians at Lee's request.¹⁷⁸ Audible prayer was not known to Korean Christians before the Pyongyang revival. American missionaries, both Presbyterians and Methodists, had not experienced such an unusual form of prayer before. According to Charles Allen Clark, it was Howard A. Johnston that introduced it to the Korean Church, who "told of the prayer method used in that (the Welsh Revival of 1906) revival where, instead of the leader only leading in public prayer, each person was asked to pray for himself out loud, disregarding everyone else in the room."¹⁷⁹ But this method of prayer became a really Korean tradition of prayer after the Pyongyang revival with the full approval of McCormick Presbyterians.

That technique has been very largely used in Korea in its revivals from that time till today, and the writer can testify that it is one of the most stirring manifestations that he has ever seen. Koreans all dress in white and sit on the floor of their churches, leaving their shoes out by the door. When they pray, they go down, Oriental fashion, with their faces almost touching the floor. The sight of a thousand or fifteen hundred, or even a smaller number of people bowed in prayer, is most striking. When all are separately engaging in oral prayer, a ripple of sound waving back and forth across the room, occasionally rising almost to a roar, and then dying down, it is a most moving spectacle.¹⁸⁰

After the great revival in Pyongyang in January, Lee and Blair continued to be invited to lead the revival meetings by Northern Methodists in Haeju and Southern Methodists in Gaesung, the two major cities between Seoul and Pyongyang.¹⁸¹ Since the 1907 revival, the native leadership rose into prominence, particularly as church

¹⁷⁸ Blair, *Gold in Korea*, 62.

¹⁷⁹ Charles Allen Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930), 149.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Deok-Joo Rhie, *Hanguk Tochakgyohoi Hyeongseongsa Yeongu*, 131.

planters and revivalists. Gil and Ikdo Kim (1874-1950),¹⁸² who experienced the revival and were trained by McCormick missionaries in Pyongyang, were two representatives in the Presbyterian groups.

The 1907 revival in Pyongyang was decisive event in which many of the major figures on the scenes were McCormick alumni and several Korean leaders who were thoroughly influenced by McCormick graduates. This revival movement condensed almost every feature of the early McCormick missionaries in Korea, both in theology and in practices. It was a Korean version of the late nineteenth century American evangelical awakenings and their related aftermath, in which McCormick missionaries had been brought up and had experienced. That is, early McCormick missionaries contributed predominantly to the shaping of the most characteristic expressions in the faith and practices of the Korean Presbyterian Church which have been maintained till today and which derive from a Methodist-Presbyterian pattern developed beyond Korea but elaborated there.

2. Evangelical Experiential Religion

Repentance through the confession of sin, conversion and renewal were the typical elements of widespread revival movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth

¹⁸² Ikdo Kim was famous with one of the great revivalists in the history of the Korean Church. In 1901 he was baptised by the McCormick missionary, William Swallen, after his conversion in 1900 by Swallen. After graduating from the Pyongyang Seminary in 1910, he planted several churches in Synchen and Chairyong. But his best fame resulted from his ability at the revival meetings, especially his gift of healing and wonder since 1919 and his firm other-world (heaven) oriented attitude of Christian faith. This could imply that he stepped forward than his contemporary Gil and the general teaching of his teachers, McCormick missionaries. See Kyong-Bae Min, *Hanguk Gidok Gyohoisu* [A History of the Korean Christian Church], revised version (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2000), 398ff.

evangelical era. Similar to the American movements, the 1903-1907 revival and subsequent revival movements in Korea combined evangelising the unbeliever and renewing the believer. Indeed, the evangelistic effect of the revival was proved in a dramatic increase (34 percent) of Korean Presbyterians just in the PCUSA mission from 54,987 members in 1906-1907 to 73,844 in 1907-1908.¹⁸³ A more remarkable result of the revival, however, was Korean Presbyterians' changed life. In the case of Pyongyang, the confession of sin and its consecutive reparation action were outstanding. Swallen's testimony shows what happened in the Pyongyang meetings for adults and students.

It verily seemed that we were getting a glimpse of the judgment, it was so awful. I can say no more for no words seem fit to describe that night scene. It was a noteworthy fact, however, that the sin of hating his brother in Christ seemed to be the cause of about as great pain as any other sin, if not the greatest. I shall never forget the sight of two of our foremost leaders in the church, one an elder and the other an assistant pastor out upon the platform linked in arms, weeping and wailing as if their very hearts would break. There were many confessions of deception, misappropriation of funds and actual thefts.¹⁸⁴

These confessions were linked to the actions of restitution and reparation by the same people: "The next day men could be seen confessing to each other on the street. Stolen articles were brought back. Stolen moneys were returned, debts of long standing were paid and the crooked ways generally were being righted."¹⁸⁵ One of the noteworthy facts was that commonly the influence of the revivals was not limited to adults. Young students also experienced strong emotional and spiritual stirrings: "In the boys' school a number of the boys confessed and continued for several

¹⁸³ See Rhodes, 546f.

¹⁸⁴ W. L. Swallen to A. J. Brown, January 18, 1907 in Oak, 400f.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 402.

hours.... The Advanced School for Girls and Women, which enrolls some eighty pupils, has also received a great blessing.... These meetings of the girls were characterized with sincere repentance. They would sometimes confess their sins and then rush across the room to grasp the hand of someone whom they had offended and ask that one's forgiveness."¹⁸⁶

Just as there had been diverse debates regarding particular manifestations in nineteenth century American revivals, so too the public confession and contrition in the 1907 revival was doubted by other Westerners in Korea and even by those McCormick missionaries themselves who were deeply involved in the event. At first the Presbyterian missionaries in Pyongyang "worried lest the results might not be beneficial, due to the emotional element that prevailed."¹⁸⁷ They "were greatly troubled lest, in excitement, insincere confessions, perhaps from wrong motives, might be made."¹⁸⁸ But they soon acknowledged that the repentance was true and regretted their prejudice. Manifest and strong emotions did indeed come out, but these were not part of an "irresponsible emotional orgy." The fact that these emotions were sincere was evidenced by the changed life of the Korean Christians, as well as by their continued mutual reparations.¹⁸⁹ The revival gave the Korean Presbyterian Church a certain unity and peace between Korean believers and American missionaries, as well as among Koreans. This is perhaps evidenced by the

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 402f. Other records about the same phenomena are found in G. S. McCune, "The Holy Spirit in Pyeong Yang," *The Korea Mission Field* (January 1907), 1ff; Graham Lee, "How the Spirit Came to Pyeong Yang," *The Korea Mission Field* (March 1907), 33ff; Also see letters like Graham Lee to A. J. Brown (January 15 and 17, 1907), G. S. McCune to A. J. Brown (January 15), W. L. Swallen to A. J. Brown (January 18), and Margaret Best to A. J. Brown (March 12).

¹⁸⁷ Rhodes, 285.

¹⁸⁸ Blair and Hunt, 77.

fact that, at least externally, there was no conflict during the official formation of the first Korean Presbyterian Church in the autumn of that year.¹⁹⁰ A Methodist missionary, J. Z. Moore, who worked in Pyongyang and witnessed the revival and changed life of Koreans with his eyes, wrote for an ecumenical missionary magazine.

Until this year I was more or less bound by that contemptible notion that the East is East and the West, West, and that there can be no real affinity or common meeting ground between them. With others I had said the Koreans would never have a religious experience such as the West has. These revivals have taught me two things: First, that though there may be a thousand things, on the surface.... the Korean is at heart, and in all fundamental things, at one with his brother of the West.... second.... that in the matter of making all life religious, in prayer, and in a simple, child like trust, the East not only has many things, but profound things, to teach the West.¹⁹¹

Although Moore was not a Presbyterian missionary, other Presbyterian missionaries including McCormick workers felt almost same sentiment about the revival.¹⁹² Just as McCormick alumni had committed themselves as missionaries through the American revival movements, the Korean Presbyterian Church organized the Board of Foreign Mission immediately after the revival. It sent Kipoong (or Gipung) Lee, one of the first seven Korea pastors, to Quelpart (Jeju Island). Until 1912, five more missionaries were sent to Quelpart, Russia and Manchuria, to serve Korean communities there.¹⁹³ Indeed, the Pyongyang revival became “the spiritual rebirth of the Korean Church and the religious experience of the people gave to the

¹⁸⁹ Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), 165f.

¹⁹⁰ Blair and Hunt, 78.

¹⁹¹ J. Z. Moore, “The Great Revival Year,” *The Korea Mission Field* (August 1907), 118.

¹⁹² See James Gale, *Korea in Transition* (New York: Laymen’s Missionary Movement, 1909), 240f; Allen D. Clark, 166; and Blair and Hunt, 78.

¹⁹³ Blair and Hunt, 78.

Christian Church in Korea a character which is its own.”¹⁹⁴ The experiential religion of the McCormick missionaries in Pyongyang, especially that of the three major figures of Lee, Swallen and Blair,¹⁹⁵ who had internalized late nineteenth century American revivalism into their lives, was transplanted into and indigenized in the Korea field through the 1907 great Pyongyang revival and the subsequent evangelical movements.

3. Evangelical Moral Religion

The moral reform leading to a more Christian life was a fruit of the revival movement in Korea, but an ethical change in Korean life had been an absolute target of the Protestant missionary enterprise from the beginning. When entering Korea, missionaries attempted to set up a rigid standard for Christian life, made up of a complex combination of their internalized American ethical criteria and the specific Korean context as they understood it. Early Presbyterian missionaries were renowned for their strict application of morality to Korean Christians, and McCormick missionaries laid the foundation for firm church discipline. Arthur Brown in the PCUSA mission board described American Presbyterian missionaries in Korea before 1911 as follows:

The typical missionary of the first quarter century after the opening of the century was a man of the Puritan type. He kept the Sabbath as our New England

¹⁹⁴ Paik, 374.

¹⁹⁵ Samuel Moffett, pioneer of Pyongyang station and top leader of the northwestern Presbyterian churches, had his sabbatical year at his home during the revival. But the whole process of the planting and founding of the Pyongyang station, such as the establishment of the churches in Pyongyang, the organizations of the Bible classes and the Bible study with revival meeting, the introduction of the Nevius Method as the leading mission strategy, and the training of the Korean Presbyterian leaders, was the real foundation on which the revival took place.

forefathers did a century ago. He looked upon dancing, smoking, and card playing as sins in which no true follower of Christ should indulge.¹⁹⁶

Brown's argument was basically correct in that he defined the Presbyterian missionaries' moral concern as a category of "Puritan.." Indeed, in many points, the early Presbyterian missionaries in Korea shared their common Christian ideal and worldview with the New England Puritans in the seventeenth century. That is, the American Puritan ideal of "the true believers" or "the visible saints" in the new wilderness of New England was reproduced in the new foreign world of Korea by the American Presbyterian missionaries. For New England Puritans, church membership "was not an automatic privilege but a sacred commitment limited to such, as have not only attained the knowledge of the principles of Religion, and are free from gross and open scandals, but also do together with the profession of their faith and Repentance, walk in blameless obedience to the Word."¹⁹⁷ Presbyterian missionaries in Korea had a stricter standard of the church membership than that of the average contemporary church in their home country. This fact should dispel the common and erroneous view, held both then and later, that the rapid growth of the Korean Church resulted from the blanket acceptance of religiously ignorant and lax Koreans by the church.

As already mentioned it, the catechumen system in the Korean Presbyterian Church required "all candidates for baptism to pass through a catechumenate of from six months to two years, during which time, they shall be systematically

¹⁹⁶ Arthur. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 540.

¹⁹⁷ Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 18.

instructed.”¹⁹⁸ The original source of this system came from the mission principles of John Nevius (1829-1893). Nevius gave the young Presbyterian missionaries in Korea instruction in his methods for just two weeks in 1890.¹⁹⁹ Presbyterian missionaries in Korea adopted his methods as their official mission policy in that same year, and the mission required all new missionaries to consult basic Nevius text and even pass an examination on them. It was Samuel Moffett, that great McCormick man who had arrived in Korea in that very year, who was most deeply impressed by Nevius’ instruction. Moffett applied this method to his Pyongyang station very thoroughly, indeed, Blair commented, “Dr Moffett was an outstanding Nevius Man.”²⁰⁰ With the strong support of the Presbyterian mission, the public reception of catechumens was begun in 1894, though it had already been practiced to a degree from 1891.

According to Charles Allen Clark, the rules of high standards for catechumens were still in use in 1934²⁰¹ and included the following: “high standards of Sunday observance, of the prohibitions against other forms of worship including the ancestral worship, of the personal behaviour, of the personal religion, prayer life and family worship, and of the entrance into the church as indicated above.”²⁰² In addition to the observance of the Sabbath, ancestral worship, gambling, polygamy including the keeping of concubines, use of liquor and tobacco were all banned for those seeking

¹⁹⁸ Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, 25.

¹⁹⁹ Clark summarizes this principle in his book. 1. missionary personal evangelism through wide itineration, 2. self-propagation, 3. self-government, 4. self-support, 5. systematic Bible study for every believer, 6. strict discipline, 7. co-operation and union with other bodies, 8. non-interference in lawsuits or any such matters. See Everett N. Hunt, Jr. “John Livingston Nevius: Pioneer of Three-Self Principles in Asia,” *Mission Legacies*, 194.

²⁰⁰ Blair, “Precious Memories of Dr Samuel Moffett,” 13.

²⁰¹ Many Korean Presbyterian churches, particularly more conservatives groups, still rely on to this system for church membership, as I can attest from my own experience.

²⁰² Clark, “Fifty Years of Mission Organization Principle and Practice,” 57.

church membership. Commonly, excessive drinking, gambling, pagan religions, polygamy, slavery and against women discrimination were officially recognized as social evils by the Christian Church in almost every nation. The nineteenth century American evangelical social reform movement, which was strongly connected with New School Presbyterianism, was also deeply involved with such kinds of social reform programs. As suggested in the first chapter, the powerful social reform program by the New School leaders such as Lyman Beecher and Charles Finney included the abolition of black slavery, the participation of women in social activities, and even total abstinence from all kinds of liquors. Through these programs, they hoped the United States would become a truly Christian nation.²⁰³

It was not surprising that American Presbyterian missionaries, who had absorbed this ideal of evangelical social reform, considered their new mission field a wilderness of alcohol, concubinage and other ‘bad behaviour.’ They attempted to achieve Christian communities, despite their ideals having failed in their homeland, and tried again and again. Indeed, most moral rules laid down Korean Presbyterians were intended to cut them off from all secular and un-Christian life and customs. Samuel Moffett remained confident in the high standards, imposed on the Korean Church.

We would.... urge the maintenance in the Korean Church of the highest standards of Christian living as evidenced by the most careful observance of the Sabbath and abstinence from spirituous liquors. In accord with that, the Korean Church is practically a total abstinence temperance organization and the Korean Church conscience has reacted to the exclusion from the office of minister or elder of those who are given to drink or even to the use of tobacco, as detracting from the spiritual influence of officers of the church.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind*, 88-103; 182-198.

²⁰⁴ Moffett, “Fifty Years of Missionary Life in Korea,” 44.

One particular item in Moffett's list was smoking. Unlike drinking, gambling, keeping concubines, ancestral worship and slavery that were regarded as common evil to be eradicated in almost every mission field, the ban on tobacco was a rule newly added just for Korean Presbyterians.²⁰⁵ The antipathy toward cigarette-smoking was common among almost every missionary group in Korea because smoking was prevalent among Koreans of every age and sex. Missionaries were worried about the ill effect of tobacco to both physical health and spiritual soundness. Until today, the attitude to smoking and drinking, in addition to Sunday observance, is regarded as a yardstick in most Korean Presbyterian churches with which to judge whether a member is a real Christian or not. Three moral reforms—strict observance of the Sabbath, abstention from drinking and smoking, and antislavery (translated into the obliteration of rigid class distinctions in Korea)—had been the most significant ingredients of the evangelical social movement, typically developed among the revival-oriented groups like the New School Presbyterians in the nineteenth century America.²⁰⁶ Brown did not actually need to go back to the far past of the seventeenth century Puritan era to seek for the origin of “the typical missionary.”

²⁰⁵ James S. Dennis, *Social Evils of the Non-Christian World* (London: Student Volunteer Missionary Union, 1899).

²⁰⁶ Curtis D. Johnson, *Redeeming America: Evangelicals and the Road to Civil War* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993), 119.

4. Evangelical Conservative Religion

There is much evidence that early Presbyterian missionaries to Korea, particularly from the States, were conservative, both theologically and practically. The testimonies of their conservativeness have been found both through their own records and from the views of observers. Arthur Brown continues: “In theology and biblical criticism he was strongly conservative, and he held as a vital truth the premillenarian view of the second coming of Christ. The higher criticism and liberal theology were deemed dangerous heresies.” Accordingly, “the few men who hold ‘the modern view’ had a rough road to travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions.”²⁰⁷

Early McCormick missionaries frequently professed their own theological conservativeness and attributed their success in the Korean field to it. In his paper in 1909, Samuel Moffett pointed out, as the result that stressed the teaching and preaching of God’s Word, God blessed the missionary works in Korea, and “one great commanding feature of the work in Korea” is that “the supreme,” “perhaps almost unexampled position given to instruction in the Scripture as the very Word of God and the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.”²⁰⁸ The first of the “outstanding thirteen things,” Clark maintained, which were “worthy of special mention” regarding “the great results in Korea” was that “from the beginning, nearly all members of the mission have held notably conservative views on theology.” He listed their views as follows: “strong emphasis on the sinfulness of men,” “the

²⁰⁷ Brown, 540. Brown seems to mention about some Canadian Presbyterian missionaries. For some details, see Conn, “Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church: An Historical Outline,” Part II. Liberal Theology in the Korean Church to 1945, 136-178.

²⁰⁸ Moffett, “Evangelistic Work,” *Quarto Centennial Papers*, 28f.

paramount need of getting rid of sin and upon salvation through the blood of Christ alone,” “the supernatural characteristic of the Bible as a book of authority,” “Christianity as the one and final religion”, “the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit,” “the necessity of special times of revival,” and “clearly defined and easily understood statements of doctrine for Korean leaders.”²⁰⁹

The doctrinal statement of the Korean Presbyterian Church that Clark listed above was indeed almost the same as the first official doctrinal creed, “the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in India,” adopted by the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1907. Twelve articles in the Confession of Faith included following expressions of beliefs: the Scripture as the only infallible rule of faith and duty; only God to be worshipped; the holy Trinity; the creation of the world by God; the creation of man after God’s own image; the original guilt and corruption generated from Adam; the salvation by God’s eternal and only begotten Son, Jesus Christ; the work of the Holy Spirit for the salvation of man; the process of salvation through predestination, justification, sanctification, and the assurance of salvation; the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper; church fellowship as the duty of all believers; and the judgment at the last day.²¹⁰

This confession of faith in twelve articles was conservative in that this creed contained the traditional articles which were broadly confessed by most mainline historical Protestant denominations. In other words, it was a typical evangelical creed, which could even be shared by even non-Calvinist evangelical denominations including Methodists, except for the ninth article on predestination, which was a

²⁰⁹ Clark, 56.

²¹⁰ For full articles, see Conn, 32f. n18.

modified and reduced form of the Westminster Confession of Faith. Yet even the rather Calvinist ninth article omitted the strict Reformed views on divine election such as total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement and irresistible grace. This reductionist tendency can be understood more easily when it is compared with the Korean Methodist Creed, the first doctrinal statement of belief of the Korean Methodist Church in 1890.²¹¹ The absolute authority of the Scripture, the virgin birth of Christ, the redemptive death and the bodily resurrection and the second coming of Jesus Christ were common components in both creeds. These components were also wholly shared with the creeds of the American Fundamentalists in the 1920s. This suggests that Presbyterian missionaries in Korea, many of whom were McCormick alumni were conservatives who rejected the influx of new theological ideas when they set up the Korean Church, but they were moderate and open-minded evangelicals in the broad sense rather than firmly Calvinist

The historical and theological facts of Pyongyang Seminary and the characteristics of its core figures indicate the rather moderate evangelical tendency of the early Presbyterian mission as well. From its beginning in 1901 until its closing due to the issue of the Shinto shrine worship in September 1938, the presidency of the seminary was in the hands of American missionaries: Moffett from McCormick until 1924 and Stacy L. Roberts from Princeton to 1938. Until the closing of the seminary, only three Koreans taught there, all of whom were trained in American divinity schools, attending major Presbyterian or conservative evangelical schools

²¹¹ Rhie, 73f.

recommended by the missionary professors.²¹² Thus, because “missionaries still continued to motivate and largely direct that Pyongyang theology,”²¹³ the moderate evangelical tendency, which was conservative but not firmly Calvinist, of the early Presbyterian missionaries, centred in McCormick alumni, was maintained until when the new seminaries were established after the independence and the Korean War.

The seminary teaching life of the most influential two McCormick missionary professors, Moffett and Clark, showed their characteristics in theology, and it seems reasonable, given the evidence, to take these two to represent most McCormick missionaries. Samuel Moffett, who was the first elected president in 1907 until 1924, was “a vigorous itinerant evangelist,” “a born counsellor,” and “founder, organizer and guiding light of the Pyongyang Seminary and Presbyterian College.” He was one of the three most influential men in the shaping of Pyongyang theology, according to Harvie Conn.²¹⁴ Although he was not a prolific writer in comparison with Clark,²¹⁵ Moffett’s influence on Pyongyang Seminary and the Korean Presbyterian Church was far-reaching through his tremendous leadership in whole areas of church ministry, counselling and administrative roles in the schools. In a conference of

²¹² These three were Gunghyuk Nam (since 1925), Hyungnong Park (since 1933) and Sunghwi Lee (since 1928). Nam attended Princeton Seminary and Union Seminary in Virginia; Park graduated from Princeton Seminary and Southern Baptist Seminary, and Lee attended San Francisco Presbyterian Seminary and Princeton Seminary and finally held his D.D. from Hanover College, the alma mater of McCormick Pioneers like Moffett, Baird and Bernheisel. For more details, see In Soo Kim, *Jangrohoi Sinhakdaehakgyo Baeknyeonsa* [History of One Hundred Years of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary] (Seoul: The Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2002), 158ff.

²¹³ Conn, 35.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 36-41. Conn listed Moffett, Charles Allen Clark and William D. Reynolds (1867-1951). Moffett and Clark were American Northern Presbyterians from McCormick Seminary, and Reynolds came from the PCUS, graduating from Union Seminary, Virginia. Reynolds was one of seven pioneers of the PCUS Korea mission, arrived in Korea in 1892. For forty-five missionary years, he worked mostly in the field of education as Bible translator, seminary professor and writer in systematic theology.

²¹⁵ In the entire collection of *The Presbyterian Theological Review*, official theological journal of the seminary, only one Moffett’s article was included. *Ibid.*, 36.

Protestant missionaries for the twentieth anniversary celebration of the Protestant mission in Korea in September 1904, Moffett presented his view on the policy for the evangelization of Korea. He mentioned six policies that he predominantly adopted for the work in Northern Korea. These were indeed the very reflection of his theological position: the wide-spread preaching of the gospel message in its simplicity; the use of the Bible as ultimate authority; the intense work on catechism; the infusion of an enthusiastic evangelistic spirit into the first converts and continuously into the whole church; Bible study training classes for the development of the church as the great evangelistic agency; the development of trained helpers, evangelists and ministers.²¹⁶ The key of these evangelical mission principles was the supreme priority of evangelism: “What we need is to have our life interest, our all-absorbing passion the work of soul-saving, of soul-developing. When one's best efforts go into some secondary line of work his power for evangelization has been surrendered.”²¹⁷ As already suggested, his intense stress on evangelism and Bible study might have originated from the Nevius method, which had been eagerly adopted by him. He, however, neither left written materials nor gave any lecture on the strict application of Reformed doctrines to the Korean Church.

William Newton Clark, who systematically arranged the Nevius principles in his doctoral dissertation and faithfully followed Moffett's way of mission in Korea, served as professor of pastoral theology and Christian education for thirty-one years. As noted above, he was a really prolific writer: forty-two books in Korean, seven in

²¹⁶ Moffett, “Policy and Methods for the Evangelization of Korea,” *Chinese Recorder* 37 (May 1906): 235-248, in Oak's sourcebook, 121-128.

²¹⁷ Samuel A. Moffett, “Prerequisites and Principles of Evangelization,” in *Counsel to New Missionaries: From Older Missionaries of the USA* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA, 1905), 67.

English, and even two translated to Spanish.²¹⁸ He was assessed by the PCUSA missionaries in 1961, when they heard the news of Clark's death: "few men have been privileged to make so rich and varied a contribution to the work of Christ in Korea as Dr Clark."²¹⁹ While Clark was open and flexible in many ways, he endeavoured to apply Moffett's seven major conservative views on theology²²⁰ throughout his Bible commentaries. The first book of *The Standard Bible Commentary*, which had been initiated by the Committee of the Korean General Assembly from 1934, was Clark's commentary on Job and Psalms. Six of the twelve books in this series had been published by 1964, three years after his death.²²¹ He agreed with Moffett's clear account in a preface of the Commentary series, which captures the theological orientation of the series with which Clark and most of other Presbyterian missionaries would generally agree: "The point of view in this commentary is that which we commonly call 'conservative.' The writers of this commentary believe the whole Bible to be the inspired Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice.... moreover.... They also believe that the system of truth taught in the Bible is well summarized in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechisms of the Presbyterian Churches. These Standards constitute the creed of the Presbyterian Church of Korea."²²² The Korean Presbyterian General

²¹⁸ Charles A. Clark, "Memories of Sixty Years," in Allen D. Clark, ed., *All Our Family in the House* (Minneapolis, 1974), 256f.

²¹⁹ *Minutes and Reports of the 67th Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA*, 1961, 112f, quoted in Conn, 37f.

²²⁰ See n.119 of this thesis.

²²¹ Only six books—Job and Psalms (1937), Leviticus (1957), Numbers (1957), Mark (1958), Luke (1962), Jeremiah (1964)—were actually published among his twelve-one manuscripts. Clark, "Memory of Sixty Years," 256.

²²² Preface, in Charles A. Clark, *The Standard Bible Commentary on Mark* (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Church, 1957), 9f, quoted in Conn, 36f.

Assembly, including most of Presbyterian missionaries, actually proclaimed that the Assembly stood on the theological ground of “conservative Calvinism,” a view (more imagined than real) which held until the late 1930s. Yet their ‘conservatism’ as has been discussed throughout this dissertation, was not the strict Calvinist form suggested in the detailed articles in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechisms, but the form contextualised in the nineteenth century American revival movement. In other words, the Korean Presbyterian Church was found on the flexible and combinational structure of the New School’s practical and experiential inclination and the Old School’s confessional tradition, transplanted to Korea by the Presbyterian missionaries through the leadership of McCormick pioneers.

5. Evangelical Eschatological Religion

The final major theological orientation of Presbyterian missionaries, including McCormick men, which needs to be considered here was their premillennial idea of the last things. Above all, premillennial eschatological idea held by many Presbyterian missionaries in Korea indicates that early Presbyterian missionaries in Korea were inconsistent Presbyterians. According to Ung Kyu Pak who has researched the millennial ideas in the early Korean church in detail, “in the early stage, the Korean premillennialist movement was accelerated by such enthusiastic premillennial missionaries and by the disastrous circumstances of the early twentieth century.”²²³ Considering the close relationship between the missionaries from McCormick Seminary in Chicago and the leading figures in mission such as Moody

²²³ Ung Kyu Pak, *Millennialism in the Korean Protestant Church* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 85.

and Pierson, the fact that McCormick missionaries were affected by the premillennial stimulus of the impending end of the world is clear. This impetus had led Moody to organize the Student Volunteer Movement in 1888 and had stimulated Pierson to proclaim “the evangelization of the world in this generation.” This had led many McCormick graduates to reach the logical conclusion to go to foreign lands. McCormick missionaries were not actually the leading figures who introduced premillennial ideas to the Korean Church. The two most active men who translated major literature on dispensational Premillennialism were Underwood from New Brunswick Seminary and James Gale from YMCA at University of Toronto, who mostly worked in Seoul.²²⁴ However, Swallen, a McCormick pioneer, also translated a book of R. A. Torrey, a prominent premillennialist, *What the Bible Teaches*, into Korean in 1933.

In addition to Swallen’s translation, there are hints that most McCormick missionaries’ non-intervention policy in political issues in Korea was linked to their conservative theology, the premillennial position. The political events such as the annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910 and the independence movement in 1919 were a great challenge to Christians. Officially, all American Presbyterian missionaries forbade Korean Christians to engage in the patriotic independent movements and endeavoured them to keep quiet. Clark wrote in 1908: “As to the Board’s action for a non-committal and neutral policy concerning political matters... We believe that the church as a church has absolutely nothing with politics in any way... Our position has been that the church is a spiritual organization and as such is not concerned with

²²⁴ Gale translated William Blackstone’s *Jesus is Coming* into Korean in 1913, and Horace G. Underwood’s translated work was W. G. Moorhead’s *Mosaic Institution*. Both missionaries also participated to translate Scofield Reference Bible. Cf. Conn, 51, n83.

politics either for or against the present or any other government”²²⁵ The PCUSA mission even “assured the people that their duty was to obey the Japanese ... and not to work for independence.” Paik criticised that “this policy was not non-committal, but definitely committal, even partisan.”²²⁶

It has been noted that the attitude of Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, less clearly following a premillennial agenda, to the oppressed Koreans was different from that of their American counterparts and more favourable to Koreans. Generally Canadians were more liberal and more concerned with social justice than Americans in Korea.²²⁷ Some scholars have also applied the premillennial argument to the result of Pyongyang revival. That is, they have suggested that the strong motive of missionaries to make the Korean Church a non-political church was the hidden intention behind this attempt at or encouragement of revival.²²⁸ Whether this claim is right or wrong, it is clear that the Korean Presbyterian Church, especially churches in northwestern area around Pyongyang, accepted and internalized the idea that this world would soon be destroyed, an idea originating in premillennialism, and a product combining mission policy and an explanation for contemporary dark situation of Korea. Accordingly, Presbyterians in Korea as premillennialists might be notably zealous in evangelistic effort because they saw “Christianity as a concern for

²²⁵ *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA*, 1908, 269.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ See Seung Tae Kim, “Canadian Missionaries’ Missionary Work and Their Conflict with Japan in the Late Chosen, 1898-1910,” *Korean Christianity and History* 12 (March 2000): 143-174. (in Korean).

²²⁸ Eun-sik Cho, “The Great Revival of 1907 in Korea: Its Cause and Effect, *Missiology: An International Review* 26 (July 1998): 291. Even Kun Sam Lee, a conservative Presbyterian historian, argued that “(premillennial) eschatological expectation and personal commitment to Christ’s kingship” was one motive for the Christian resistance to Shinto in Korea in the late 1930s-1945. Kun Sam Lee, *The Christian Confrontation with Shinto Nationalism* (Amsterdam: Van Soest, 1962), 172f.

the after-life but with no interest in what goes in the world today.”²²⁹ One example, showing how a McCormick missionary as a pessimistic premillennialist was identified with Korean Presbyterians in the national period of tribulation, was a famous hymn, “The Bright, Heavenly Way,” versified by William Swallen in 1905, which is still frequently sung by Korean Christians.

1. The bright, heavenly way, before me / Lies clearly in my sight;
And though sorrows sore beset me / And troubles black as night,
At the Splendour from the skies / Every darkling shadow flies,
While we trust the grace of Jesus / And look ever to that Light

2. When I think on all the trouries [*sic*] / Which in my world I see,
Inner fears and outer trials / Seems nigh too much for me;
But the blood of Christ our Lord / Puts them wholly to the sword,
While we trust the grace of Jesus / And shall ever victors be.

3. Drawing nearer to that city / Yet seen by faith alone,
Longing for the Father’s mansions / And rest before the throne,
All unworthy though I be / There is welcome there for me,
For the King is our own Jesus, / Lord and saviour of His own.²³⁰

Almost every core feature of nineteenth century evangelicalism as ecumenical, experiential, moral, conservative and premillennial religion was transmitted by the McCormick missionaries to Korea, where it intensified and came to characterize the Korean Presbyterian context. These characteristics which were expressed in several conservative doctrinal articles and practised enthusiastically in Christian daily life

²²⁹ John Somerville, “The Theology of the Korean Church – 1961,” paper read at a conference of Presbyterian missionaries in Korea (January 1962): 5, quoted in Conn, 55.

²³⁰ Hymn number 545 in *Korean-English Explanation Hymnal* (Seoul: Agape Publishing Company, 1997).

showed that early Korean Presbyterianism was the Korean version of nineteenth century American missionary Presbyterianism, especially held by the McCormick missionaries. This, however, was a more ecumenical, more experiential, more moral, more conservative and more premillennial version than its conveyers' one.

Conclusion

In the history of the Korean Presbyterian church, which has grown into the largest denomination in Korea, the pietist and revival facet of American Presbyterianism was the impetus that accelerated the dynamic activism of the Korean Presbyterian Church. Among the American Presbyterian missionaries working in Korea, it has been recognized that McCormick missionaries exerted the most influence on the making of Korean Protestantism. McCormick missionaries combined the evangelical piety of the revival movements of the New School Presbyterians, Finney, Moody and Pierson with the confessional Reformed doctrines of the Old School Presbyterians. In addition, they brought premillennialism as a dominant feature of American religious culture to their mission field at the turn of the twentieth century.

McCormick Theological Seminary has not appeared as a significant theological institution regarding the conflicts and innovations within the American Presbyterian Church, and has been given less attention than Auburn Seminary, Oberlin College, and Union Seminary in New York City, representatives of the New School Presbyterians or Princeton Seminary as the representative of the Old School men. In the history of the Korean Presbyterian Church, however, it was McCormick Seminary which made the most important contribution to the formation of theology, piety, and practice. McCormick theology in the turn of the twentieth century can be defined as evangelical theology with strong pietist tendency and moderate Calvinist strand, which joined the doctrinal affection of the Old School to the revivalist impulse of the New School. It is clear that the McCormick missionaries as evangelical Presbyterians decisively created the core features of the Korean

Presbyterian Church until 1939 when the Pyongyang Seminary was closed down and the missionaries were expelled by the Japanese imperial government.

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